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# LITHUANIA

## The Countenance of a People

by Victor Jungfer

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titlepage

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# THE COUNTENANCE OF A PEOPLE

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## /5/ Preface

The knowledge of peoples concerning each other exhausts itself in a series of misunderstandings. There are of course books for orientation. But books on foreign countries are written the more easily the less one knows about the subject matter. The difficulties increase with knowledge. What on cursory observation appears as a fascinating contrast that could be set against conditions at home in a clever antithesis dissolves on closer inspection into a quantity of parallel phenomena. Things that at first appear completely strange suddenly show familiar faces behind their outer skin. What appear problems to the hasty observer disappear, but on the other hand others emerge which are difficult to explore and even the detailed presentation of which does not give the author the certainty that their meaning and essence will be understood by the readers. Thus, too, hasty visits to foreign countries--consider here a large section of the literature on Russia--lead more to a deepening of existing errors than to their removal, for even the educated observer will be more easily inclined to find in foreign countries that which he already knows, than to learn that which he does not yet know. In these reasons the present book finds its justification.

/2/ /6/ Our literature on the so-called "Border States" exhausts itself for the older period almost exclusively in philologic presentations, and for the modern period in political and economic ones. If here for the first time the attempt is made to investigate the spiritual characteristics of the life of one of these peoples and to

/2/ explain these characteristics on the basis of their own developmental tendencies, the endeavor to communicate as much information of a purely objective nature on the fundamental areas of the spiritual and cultural life as is absolutely necessary for the critical examination of a people had to be decisive above all else. At the center of the presentation stands the idea of cultural development. Thus the first question became: what is there in the way of original cultural foundations? -- language, folk poetry, folk art, etc. -- and the second question: in what direction is the cultural development moving and what influences have affected it? -- where again art in its manifold forms of expression, as painting, architecture, music, and poetry, was taken as a criterion and assembled into a single field of observation. Thus the fact that the detailed presentations given here, of the language, the folklore, or the development of Lithuanian literature, for example, should not be conceived as an end in themselves will readily be understood by the reader who observes the broader frame within which all these themes are included.

The technical explanations have largely been relegated to the bibliographical references. Let it be added that among the books mentioned, the literature in the German language was treated along with the Lithuanian literature with something approaching completeness. For the pronunciation of the Lithuanian as well as for the spelling of proper names I refer to what is said in the notes on Chapter I.

/7/ The translations of both prose pieces and verses are my own with a few exceptions, which are noted.

000 Although the present book has resulted from detailed studies and a knowledge of the country extending over many years, I have not been able to do without the help of experts in

000 the preparation of particular sections, for in the end there is really hardly anyone who would be equally at home in all the areas treated here. I express my hearty thanks to all those who have aided me through the contribution of material and valuable references, above all to the Lithuanian artists and my colleagues in the university.

Dr. Victor Jungfer

Kaunas; June, 1938

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## /11/ Chapter One

## The Language

194

/Unnumbered note on Chapter One/ Regarding the pronunciation of the Lithuanian words appearing in the text the following should be noted: z equals soft S, S equals sharp s, c equals ts, č equals ch, ž equals j as in French jardin, š equals sh, χ ecuals tsh, e equals German open ä, ē equals German e.

104

The spelling of names in the text, consistently follows the official Lithuanian spelling: thus Suvalkija instead of Russian Suvalki, Garliava instead of Russian Godlevo. . .

Regarding the spelling of personal names it should be noted that originally non-Lithuanian names remain unchanged: thus Mickiewicz, Kraszewski, etc. On the

[p.6 is blank]

104 other hand the names of older Lithuanian writers, even when they sometimes appear in the original texts in Polish forms according to the custom of the time, are given in their Lithuanian form: thus Daukantas instead of Polish Dowkont, etc.

113 A complete bibliography of Lithuanian linguistic research is given in the annual Indogermanisches Jahrbuch (published by Walter de Gruyter, Berlin and Leipzig). In addition, the following may be named among the most important recent works:

Leskien, Litauisches Lesebuch (Heidelberg, 1919).

A. Baranowski, Litauische Mundarten; Vol. I, Texts; Vol. II, Grammatical Introduction (edited by F. Specht, Leipzig, 1920-22).

G. Gerullis, Litauische Dialektstudien (Leipzig, 1930).
(Basic.)

A. Salys, "Kelios pastabos tarmių istorijai" (Some Remarks on Dialect History), with a dialect map, Archivum Philologicum, IV (Kaunas), pp. 21-34. (This periodical especially serves Lithuanian linguistic research.)

G. Gerullis, ---ieji lietuvių skaitymai (Readings in Old Lithuanian), I, Kaunas, 1927. (This work contains selected samples from old writings.)

K. Būga, Lietuvių kalbos žodynas (Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language), I-II (Kaunas, 1924). (Very important linguistically.)

K. Būga, Die Vergangenheit der aistischen (baltischen) Völker im Lichte der Ortsnamenforschung, Streitberg-Festgabe, Leipzig, 1924.

P. Skardžius, "Die slawischen Lehnwörter im

113 Altlitauischen," Tauta ir Žodis (People and Word), Vol. VII (Kaunas, 1931).

K. Alminauskas, Die Germanismen des Litauischen, I, Kaunas, no date.

A. The Place of Lithuanian in the Framework of the Indo-European Languages

000 Every language is an image of the thinking and feelings of a people. It gives an elaborate and colorful picture of the inner nature of the people in the most sensitive shadings, not only through what it says but also through what it does not say. For words and concepts with all their nuances, indeed even grammatical constructions--if they are for once not observed with the eyes of the philologist--are only symbols for all the elements of which the spiritual and intellectual life of a people consists and through which it is distinguished from others.

197 The Lithuanian language belongs to the Balto-Slavic branch of the Indo-European languages. With the languages of the Letts, Cours, Zemgalens, Selens and Old Prussians, it is included in a special "Baltic" group. Nevertheless there are differences to be noted here. The Lettish language is related to Lithuanian as a younger sister language. It has been more mixed with foreign elements because of its closer contact with German and has lost many ancient features which Lithuanian has faithfully preserved. Old Prussian, on the other hand, even more ancient in grammatical structure, seemed at first /12/ to stand considerably closer to Lithuanian, as far as could be determined from the few preserved records. Nevertheless as early in 1876 Kurschat found that from a linguistic point of view the relation of Old Prussian to Lithuanian was not really as close as that of Lettish to Lithuanian. He assembles a number of words of comparison of Old Prussian with Lithuanian, and remarks: "What may have been borrowed by one of these languages

197 from the other, by Old Prussian from Lithuanian or vice versa, must remain completely undetermined." (1)

> 1. A comparison of Old Prussian with Lithuanian is made more difficult by the fact that in the Old Prussian language little more than three translations of the Luther catechism (two from the year 1545 and one from the year 1561) have been preserved. At that time, however, as Kurschat observes, Old Prussian was already a language that was dying out, and apparently the translators were not enough in command of the language "to be able to reproduce it with reliable exactness." (Friedrich Kurschat, Grammatik der littauischen Sprache, Halle, 1876, pp. 56-57.) [113]

With the close relationship of the Lithuanian, Lettish, and Old Prussian languages the common features in their vocabularies are naturally not surprising:

| | Lithuanian | Lettish | Prussian |
|---|---|---|---|
| "god" | dievas | dievs | deivs |
| "hand" | ranka | ruoka | ranko |
| "head" | galve | galva | galvo |
| "iron" | gel(e)žis | dzelzs | gelso |
| "steel" | plienas | pliens | plainis |

Nevertheless, in spite of such similarities the fundamental differences between these languages should not be forgotten, as they strike us for example in the word bread: Lithuanian duona, Lettish maize, and Prussian geitis. Very frequently, too, we find the case that Old Prussian contrasts markedly in its vocabulary with Lithuanian and Lettish:

197

| | Lithuanian | Lettish | Prussian |
|---|---|---|---|
| "butter" | sviestas | sviests | anktan |
| "milk" | pienas | piens | dadan |

Modern linguistics therefore assumes that the primitive Baltic language split into two branches sometime between the fifth and third centuries B.C. -- a western /13/ (Prussian) and an eastern, to which would be assigned the languages of the Lithuanians, Letts, Cours, Zemgalens, and Selens. From the eastern branch resulted later -- presumably in the eleventh and twelfth centuries -- the languages of the individual peoples. (2)

[113]

2. Trautmann, Altpreussische Sprachdenkmäler, pp. VIII-XV.

The question of what place Lithuanian holds within the Indo-European languages stimulated research very early. As early as 1856, in the introduction to his Handbuch der litauischen Sprache, Schleicher gives us a clear definition when he observes -- in general not incorrectly: "The Lithuanian language belongs to the great Indo-European speech family. Indic and Persian, Greek and Latin, Slavic, Lithuanian, and German, and finally the language called Celtic are the branches of this family, and each branch is again divided more or less into languages or dialects ... Slavic and Lithuanian, however, resemble each other so much in many parts of their grammar and vocabulary that one could be inclined to consider them members of one and the same language group if great differences in other parts of the language structure did not keep one from such a view. Of all the living Indo-European languages, Lithuanian shows in its sound by far the greatest antiquity; hence its great importance for linguistics." (3)

197
[113]

3. A. Schleicher, Handbuch der litauischen Sprache (Prague, 1856-57), Vol. I, Litauische Grammatik, Introduction.

Since Schleicher wrote these words a period of almost 80 years has elapsed during which the Lithuanian language has been investigated by a great number of researchers, mostly Germans. The place of Lithuanian within the Indo-European language group is today unequivocally established: with the remaining Baltic and Slavic languages, as well as with Indic, Iranian, Armenian, and Albanian, it forms the so-called satem group of Indo-European, while the Germanic languages, together with Greek, Latin, and Celtic, belong to the centum group. "The difference exists in the fact that certain palatal sounds of the original language /14/ became sibilants in the satem languages but remained for the time unchanged or perhaps became harder in the centum languages." (4)

[113]

4. A. Senn, Kleine litauische Sprachlehre (Heidelberg, 1929), p. 2.

The connection of the Baltic and Slavic branches of the Indo-European languages has also been shown in detail by a whole series of older investigators, Brugmann, Leskien, Fortunatov, Porzezinski, Meillet, and others. In 1923, Trautmann published an etymological dictionary of the Balto-Slavic languages. (5)

[113]

5. Trautmann, Baltisch-slawisches Wörterbuch (Göttingen, 1923). Cf. also E. Fraenkel, "Zur baltoslawischen Etymologie und Wortforschung," Tauta ir Zodis, Vol. III (Kaunas, 1925), pp. 481-89.

Although Indo-European linguistics assigns

197 the Baltic languages (including Lithuanian) together with the Slavic, to a broader group, it must nevertheless be specifically stressed in this connection that Lithuanian is not a Slavic language. Whereas all Slavic peoples (Russians, Poles, Czechs, etc.) can at least make themselves understood among each other, a linguistic understanding between Slavs and Lithuanians is impossible. Concerning this, many errors are still prevalent.
192 They have mainly resulted from the fact that Lith-
197 uanian was earlier overlaid with Slavic words, for which, however, there were at the same time original words in Lithuanian. I am thinking here for example of words such as were still cited by Kurschat as "Lithuanian": (6)

6. Fr. Kurschat, see above, p. 53. [1]

| | | Pure Lithuanian |
|---|---|---|
| "week" | nedele | savaitē |
| "bell" | zvanas | varpas |
| "miracle" | dyvas | stebuklas |
| "world" | svietas | pasaulis |
| "consumption" | sukata | džiova |
| "hour" | adyna | valanda |
| "punish" | koroti | bausti |
| "sinful" | griešnas | nuodemingas, et |

Although some of the pure Lithuanian words named here may be new linguistic formations (e.g. savaitē), one should not forget that these new formations in any case /15/ go back to Baltic stems. In addition there is a series of Slavic words in Lithuanian for which no genuinely Lithuanian words can be found, principally in the area of religious life as well as in the areas with which the Lithuanians became familiar through the Slavs. (7) A third group of words that are fre-

[1] [see cat. 116, p 9 --Analyst]

quently looked upon as Slavic is of proto-Indo-European origin and thus equally at home in both languages. Finally, Lithuanian contains many words that passed over into the Slavic languages. A comparison of the Lithuanian language with the Slavic languages presents thus a great number of factors that have to be taken into consideration.

197 All in all we can say today that the relationship of these languages on closer observation does not prove to be as close as it appeared to Schleicher. [194] Above all, there is a strikingly small number of sibilants in Lithuanian, while the sibilants actually impose a special stamp on Slavic. [195] On the other hand, Slavic feeling for language is reflected to a large extent in the syntax and grammar of Lithuanian. Thus the Lithuanian language, exactly as Polish, puts the predicate substantive in the instrumental and puts the object in the genitive with negative verbs. Certain sibilants, e.g. the č in mačiau "I saw," are traceable for the first time around the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but do not represent a borrowing from Slavic. It is interesting that the educated Russian and Pole will not admit any close relationship of Lithuanian with his own language and that, quite the contrary, he is inclined to look at the Lithuanian language as something completely foreign.

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192 197 [113] [1] 7. K. Buga, "Die litauisch-weissrussischen Beziehungen und ihr Alter," special number of the Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie (Leipzig, 1924), Vol. I, Nos. 1/2, pp. 26-55. Būga points out that a series of White Russian words of religious content must have found its way into the Lithuanian language even before 1387 (pp. 50 and 52). The same would apply to the terms for a number of objects with which the Lithuanians became acquainted through the trade with the White Russians even before 1200; e.g. glass, silk, market, donkey, radish, and others (p. 46).

[1] [footnote to text on page 12, see cat. 192 or 197--Analyst]

ooopletely foreign.

162 Lithuanian is spoken today by about three
191 million people, half of whom understand only their
native language. Since a detailed description of
the Lithuanian language area would extend considerably beyond the limits of this presentation, only
the following may be said briefly on the subject:
Lithuanian is the native language of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the Lithuanian state. Beyond this /16/ a large section of
the Lithuanian language area is found today under
Polish rule (the Vilna area). Furthermore, the
area of the Lithuanian language projects on the
one hand into Latvia and on the other into East
[167] Prussia. Finally, there are in the United States
large, close-knit Lithuanian communities which may
include a total of about half a million people.
In Chicago alone 70,000 Lithuanians have been
counted. These people are emigrants and their
descendants. Large Lithuanian colonies have also
arisen in South America, especially in recent times.

197 In spite of its relatively small size we
184 find within the enclosure of the Lithuanian language
area a large number of dialectal differences. The principal dialects are High Lithuanian and Low Lithuanian (Samogitian), of which the latter is related to the former in about the same way as Low German is to High German. In addition to its vocabulary, Samogitian is distinguished from High Lithuanian by its accentuation, its drawled pronunciation, and its loss of fully pronounced endings. It is divided in turn into the dialects of Raseiniai and Telšiai, which are distinguished from each other principally by transposition of the vowels of the diphthongs. In the writings of the poetess Žemaitē, Low Lithuanian stands out sharply in syntax and vocabulary.

The High Lithuanian dialect group is divided into an eastern and a western subgroup. Western High Lithuanian in turn consists of two dialects, whose border is formed approximately by

197 the Memel. In the eastern group of High Lithuanian
184 a series of dialects can also be distinguished. Dzūkijan, or Southeast Lithuanian, as well as North Lithuanian spoken in the river area of the Mūsă (north of Panevēžys) stand out as particular dialects. (8)

8. A. Senn, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

The large number of dialectal differences implies for the vocabulary and form of the language an enrichment not to be underestimated. This surprising richness in a relatively small territory /Unnumbered page with illustration--Lithuanian Landscape/ /17/ can probably be attributed primarily to the seclusion of the individual districts. This resulted from a backwardness of many centuries and a conservative adherence to inherited land. The differences of the dialects, however, are not so strong that they could destroy the unity of the language. The present literary language is based on the dialect of the South Lithuanian province of Užnemunē (earlier the gouvernement Sùvalkija), which is spoken particularly on the south bank of the Memel, in other words, the southern dialect of western High Lithuanian. We thus find in standard Lithuanian the long vowels of the final syllables preserved. (9)

[113] 9. All grammatical presentations of the present Lithuanian standard language are based primarily on the work of Prof. Jablonski, who, under the name Rygiškių Jonas, is the author of: Lietuvių kalbos vadovelis (Kaunas, 1925); and Lietuvių kalbos gramatika, 2nd ed. (Kaunas-Vilna, 1922).

## 197 B. Antiquity and Formal Richness of the Lithuanian Language

192 In the year 1625 the Königsberg clergyman Johannes Rhesa wrote in the preface to his Lith-

192 197 [531] uanian Psalter: "If we observe many strange words in the Lithuanian language, it will be found that it is a mixed language, stemming from other major languages, especially Greek and Latin, a fact which becomes evident for example in the proverb of the Lithuanians: Dewas dawe dantes, Dewas dos ir dones; that is, 'If God has given teeth, he must also have given bread.' Whoever knows Greek or Latin will find that most of the words take their origin from these languages." (10)

> 10. Quoted on the basis of Bezzenberger, see footnote 13.[1]

197 We have seen[2] that Indo-European linguistic research in its further development has not confirmed this view of the old Königsberg clergyman, although it still haunted the German press during the First World War. (11) /18/ Rather, linguistic research has shown us that Lithuanian, together with Greek and Latin, originated in a common primitive language--Indo-European, and that the similarities of these languages are due to this fact. That these similarities are so striking, however, finds its explanation in the unusual antiquity of the Lithuanian language, which in this regard occupies a unique position among all the Indo-European languages. Schleicher already finds it remarkable that so ancient a language still exists at all. He refers to the dual and the seven Indo-European cases in Lithuanian that at times match the Sanskrit. He stresses that Lithuanian remained almost completely free of the great sound changes which the rest of the Indo-European languages underwent, and assigns to Lithuanian a similar role in the framework of the

> [113] 11. Prof. Dr. Leo Brenner, "Litauer und Preussen, Stammesbrüder der Griechen," Deutsche Tageszeitung, September 12, 1917.

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 17-18 -- Analyst]

[2] [see cat. 116, pp. 8-13 -- Analyst]

197 most closely related Slavic languages as is played by Gothic in a comparative presentation of the Germanic languages. Schleicher explains the antiquity of Lithuanian by the seclusion of the Lithuanian country folk from historical movements, and draws a parallel with Icelandic. (12) One of the best modern experts on the Lithuanian language, Prof. Bezzenberger, expresses himself similarly: "If one asks, however, whence it comes that Lithuanian has preserved until today such splendid features of antiquity. . .while all other Indo-European languages have in contrast long gone about 121 in an unusually strong conservative trait in the Lithuanians." (13) Although for the ~~[illegible]~~

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113 12. Schleicher, Vergleichende Sprachgeschichte (1848) (cf. here the chapter on the "Zetazismus der litauischen Sprache"); and Die Sprachen Europas (1850).

197
174 13. Bezzenberger's reply to L. Brenner's essay, "Litauer und Preussen," Königsberger Hartungsche Zeitung, February 10, 1918. Cf. on this point in the same newspaper, on October 24, 1918, the reply of Dr. Herbert Krüger, "Griechen und Litauer": "Whether the division of the Indo-European languages into centum and satem languages, based on phonetic differences, also forms a good standard for the degree of relationship of the peoples concerned will be contested from many sides. It must be left to the work of specialists to decide whether only the general Indo-European relationship exists between the Lithuanians and the Greeks, or a somewhat closer relationship, which Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger disputes. Before the assumed division there must have existed at one time a unified original people, and if, as even Herr Geheimrat Bezzenberger does, we no longe

197 174 place the original home of this primitive people in far-off Asia, but in Europe on the shore of the Baltic Sea, the ancestors of the Greeks must have emigrated to the south from their northern homeland, separating themselves from the original people either before or after the Lithuanians."

197 193 Although for the linguist it is naturally just as essential to determine in what ways Lithuanian differs from the old languages of the Latins and Greeks, it is still not without fascination to examine the great antiquity of the Lithuanian language on the basis of the existing similarities. For the declension cases of Latin and Lithuanian the example "man" (Latin vir, Lithuanian vyras) may be given:

/19/

| | Latin | Lithuanian | Latin | Lithuanian |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | | Plural | |
| Nom. | vir | vyras | viri | vyrai |
| Gen. | viri | vyro | virorum | vyrų |
| Dat. | viro | vyrui | viris | vyrams |
| Acc. | virum | vyrą | viros | vyrus |
| Voc. | vir | vyre | viri | vyrai |

While Latin knows for vir only an ablative with an instrumental and locative function (viro--viris), Lithuanian has at its disposal both a locative (vyre--vyruose) and an instrumental (vyru--vyrais). In addition to these cases there are in Lithuanian three more that are formed by attaching suffixes: girion "toward the forest" (giria "forest") dievopi "to God" (dievas "God"), and dieviep "with God."

197 - 192 Word similarities are especially striking:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| "god" | deus | dievas |
| "tooth" | dens | dantis |

197
192

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| "ear" | auris | ausis |
| "fire" | ignis | ugnis |
| "yoke" | iugum | jungas |
| "sheep" | ovis | avis |
| "sun" | sol | saulė |

The Latin sentence viri trahite iugum is translated into modern Lithuanian vyrai traukite jungą.

197 In inflection there are striking similarities with Greek and Sanskrit:

193

| | Greek | Sanskrit | Lithuanian |
|---|---|---|---|
| "I am" | εἰμί<ἐσμί | asmi | esu and esmi |
| "you are" | ἐσί | asi | esi |
| "he is" | ἐστί | asti | yra and esti |

These few examples of the antiquity of Lithuanian vocabulary and morphology may suffice. A /20/ further very old element is the dual, which is still alive today in its rich forms, primarily in the Lithuanian dialects. Thus, from the circle of languages that are today silent, Lithuanian projects into our living present like a monument of ancient times. The sentence structure is ancient. Subject and predicate usually stand next to each other with no connecting element. Only rarely is the relation of the sentences to each other in pure Lithuanian style expressed by connecting words, rather it must be recognized from the meaning. Thus the sentences are strung together as in the old fairy tales or as in the Greek language before the artificial period structure was introduced. Many sentence sequences might be compared with old woodcuts. Particularly difficult, especially for Germans, is the Lithuanian case system, in which, next to the genitive, the instrumental plays a large role. The German subjunctive is often represented in Lithuanian by participial constructions. The latter are frequently used as absolute constructions (the ablative absolute of Latin and the genitive absolute of

197 Greek). Thus, for example, Lithuanian has a con-
193 struction that must be described precisely as a
dative absolute.

192 Among the ancient features of Lithuanian can be listed also the diminutive forms, which are probably not used in such abundance in any other living language. They surround the language like a colorful scroll and are especially essential to the folk songs. But while, for example, High German knows today only two such diminutives, -chen and -lein, Lithuanian has at its disposal an incomparably large number, which are attached not only to substantives but also to adjectives and even verbs and adverbs. If we take for example the word "small" mažas, we find the following forms: mažalēlis, mažilēlis, maželēlis, mažutis, mažytis, mažiukas, mažulēlis, mažiulukas, mažulytis, mažutēlis, mažiulis, mažylis, mažučiukas. W. Kalwaitis counts in his Litauischer Namensschatz no less that 66 diminutive forms for the word mama "mother," among them even a fivefold diminutive /21/ mamaitužužužēlē. (14) We have an excellent article by Prof. Brender on the significance of the diminutive forms in Lithuanian. (15) Brender shows here that diminution occurs primarily with such

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[113] 14. W. Kalwaitis, Litauischer Namensschatz (Lithuanian and German) (Tilsit, 1910), p. 24, where the following progression of diminutives from mama are given: mamaitē--mamaitužē--mamaitužužē--mamaitužužužē--mamaitužužužēlē. It might be possible that a conscientious philologist who counted all the diminutive forms of this one word might arrive at the figure 100.

[113] 15. F. Brender, "Die Verwendung der sogenannten Diminutive im Litauischen," Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1925), Vol. III, pp. 76-111.

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words as are connected with the sphere of smallness or emotion (tenderness, humor, contempt). The emotional values of the individual diminutive forms, aside from those that have become formalized, are usually quite varied and show all degrees from tenderest love to sharpest contempt. The former we see for example in the intimate forms for mother: mamelē, mamytē, mamutē, mamaitē, mamužėlē, motulē, etc. -- which can be reproduced in English only with "dear, good, beloved, tender, sweet little mother," i.e. with a whole string of adjectives. Other diminutive forms serve for the expression of the gruesome, peculiar, or bizarre, as for example the suffixes that we find with the word "devil", velnias--velniukas, velnykštis, velniukštis. Thus, too, the meaning of varliukštis (varlē "frog") could only be reproduced by "poor little frog." Perhaps this abundance of diminutive forms with many meanings is connected with the decline of the descriptive adjective in Lithuanian, so readily employed by the German language. In the intimate forms this connection, which as far as I know has not yet been pointed out, definitely exists, for it is precisely in this sphere that we meet the greatest abundance of distinguishing suffixes. The preference 181 of the Lithuanians for diminutives permits also the inference of a certain basic mental attitude, as C. Reisig expresses it: "If a language is rich in diminutive endings, a certain national character can be recognized in this fact: there is in this something friendly and jovial." (16)

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16. C. C. Reisig, Vorlesungen über lateinische Sprachwissenschaft (Berlin, 1881), Vol. I, p. 219. The remark quoted here agrees with the findings of W. Schmidt, who, proceeding from completely different viewpoints, in his work Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde ascribes on p. 464 the pushing ahead of the genitive to a naive, natural, spontaneous, warm way of thinking, while in the cooler, constructive, "logical" way of thinking the

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genitive follows, precisely because it expresses the differentia specifica, that which is later and comes after.

194 If from the form of the language we turn briefly to the character of the sounds, we find, as a very ancient phenomenon, a peculiar, swaying rhythm. As early as the middle of the last century this was for Leopold Arends, the inventor of stenography, /22/ his reason for working with the problem of speech modulation, i.e. with the so-called singing character of speech. It belongs to the features of the Lithuanian language that are incomprehensible for the foreigner who cannot learn it. In order, therefore, to give at least some idea of its nature, I quote from Vydurās: "The Lithuanian language has a completely individual and for the present a unique character in regard to rhythm. It moves under tension from two parallel rhythms that work against each other simultaneously. The basic rhythm is that of the alternation of long and short sounds or syllables. In addition there is the alternation between higher and lower tones. And often the high tone falls on the short vowel in opposition to the force of the long, full sound; e.g. in individual words: sūnùs "son," ùpē "river." The tone wanders, however, in the various cases of most inflected words from one syllable to another . . .But the rhythm of tone has only a secondary significance. . .The language rather moves forward swaying like a song. For that reason, too, the richness of forms has been preserved until now. A very strong accent, particularly if it had become fixed in any special place, would probably have resulted in the wearing off of endings." (17)

113] 17. W. St. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916), pp. 87-88.

Present-day linguistics points out that in

197 Present-day linguistics points out that in
194 the Lithuanian language the intonation of the primitive Indo-European language has still been preserved. This can be seen with particular clarity in a comparison with Greek: e.g. Lithuanian algà (from algā́); Greek ἀλφή "profit"; but genitive algõs, Greek ἀλφῆς .

Let it be said that here, too, there are variations in Lithuanian, in that some dialects have obliterated the length distinctions and have thus become simpler with regard to rhythm and melody (e.g. Samogitian). Where, however, the old rhythm has remained fully preserved, it has kept the endings from wearing away and degenerating, as we find them for example in /23/ Lettish, where the words are always stressed on the first syllable. Certainly the melody of the Lithuanian language, which many linguists have noticed, rests in large part upon this peculiar swaying rhythm.

194 The beauty and melody of the Lithuanian language unfolds its full euphony particularly in song. It has been appreciated by many scholars and artists. Thus by Élisée Reclus: "If the value of a nation in the whole of humanity could be measured by the beauty of its language, the Samogitians and Lithuanians would be in the first rank among the inhabitants of Europe." (18)

[113] 18. Élisée Reclus, Nouvelle Geographie Universelle, Vol. V, (Paris, 1880), p. 431.

We have found one reason for the phonetic beauty of this language in the minor role of the sibilants, in which it is distinguished from the Slavic languages, a second reason in the musical rhythm peculiar to it which gives it a swaying movement. Finally, a third reason is its richness in pure vowels. They are primarily the vowels a, o, and u, while compressed vowels like the Russian ы are not present at all. We are indebted to Vydūnas for interesting statistics on

194 the vowels. He investigated the type and frequency of the vowels in Lithuanian and German and found the following relationship: (19)

19. W. St. Vydūnas, see above p. 88.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a, | Lithuanian | 5, | German | 2 |
| o | " | 3 | " | 2 |
| u | " | 3 | " | 2 |
| e | " | 1 | " | 3 |
| i | " | 2 | " | 1 |

While in German the vowels a, o, and u are distributed equally, they predominate strongly in Lithuanian and give the language a different phonetic character. On the other hand, the e, which in German predominates, falls far into the background in Lithuanian. All in all, 14 Lithuanian vowels correspond to 10 German ones. Since the phonetic value of the individual vowels is different, we have here perhaps also one of the reasons why the Lithuanian language seems so dark in song.

## 195 /24/ C. The Development of the Lithuanian Literary Language

We can trace the development of the Lithuanian literary language back to Duonelaitis (cf. Chapter Five)*, although Lithuanian writings were printed before him. In 1735 even the Bible appeared in the Lithuanian language at the behest of the Königsberg General Superintendent Quant. The first Lithuanian Bible translation was written by Bretkunas between 1579 and 1590, but this work lies unprinted to this day in the university library at Königsberg. The language of the printed Lithuanian Bible does not breathe the spirit of the Lithuanian language like the Luther Bible that of the German. Always it is only the poet who is the creator of language. And Luther was also a poet. Moreover, the Lithuanian Bible translation is full

* [cat. 116, pp. 199-205-- Analyst]

195 of Slavic elements. (20)

[113] 20. The oldest language monuments of Lithuanian from the year 1547 on have been published in Gerullis: Moswid, Die ältesten litauischen Sprachdenkmäler bis zum Jahre 1570, edited by Dr. Georg Gerullis, Indogermanische Bibliothek, Vol. II (Heidelberg, 1923).

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197 After the middle of the last century Lithuanian literature awoke to a life of its own, and from that time on there developed a Lithuanian language which takes its expressive and formal content from the various Lithuanian dialects without, however, arriving immediately at exact and clear conceptual definitions. Difficulties resulted from the fact that a number of expressions of the language had taken on meanings colored by dialect, and partially even contrasting meanings, in the separate provinces. The first task consisted therefore in a unification and conceptual delimitation of the available vocabulary. This process has even today not yet fully been carried out, although it is essentially complete. Some of the differences between the former and present literary language is explained by this fact. From decade to decade Lithuanian literary language has been gaining expressiveness, force, and richness. But still it was in its nature a peasant language that had not caught up with the rapid Western development in science and technology.

/25/ A powerful impetus was given by the founding of the independent Lithuanian state. Three problems resulted for the further development of the literary language. The first problem consisted in freeing the language from the Slavic influences by which it was at times completely ruled -- this applies to whole provinces -- and to replace the formerly employed Slavic words with pure Lithuanian

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197 ones. This problem was capable of complete solution, since in the large vocabulary of Lithuanian everyday speech the necessary words or stems were available and only education of the people and enlightenment through the schools were needed. Moreover, the newly awakened national consciousness pushed the development forward. In addition, among the existing dialects of the Lithuanian language, which still stood side by side as equals and which are clearly reflected in their great variety in the earlier writings of the Lithuanian poets, there was the question of choosing one dialect -- as mentioned, the Suvalkijan dialect was picked -- and constructing on it the new literary language that would be valid for the whole land. This task ran into greater difficulties. Moreover there was danger that now, with the necessity of gradation, the rest of the dialects would be discredited and the language would thus lose much richness. For in every people the so-called literary language gains constantly new strength from its contact with the dialects.

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195 The enormous task of uniformly constructing and elaborating the new literary language was undertaken by the distinguished Lithuanian linguist Jablonskis, or as he called himself, Rygiškių Jonas. Born on January 12, 1861 on a farm east of the Šešupė, he attended the Russian gymnasium in Marijampolė, studied ancient languages in Moscow, and later taught at universities in various cities. After the founding of the Lithuanian University he was named Professor of the Lithuanian language. Jablonskis possessed on the one hand an excellent /26/ training in ancient languages and on the other hand stood in close touch with the simple country folk. He thus succeeded in comprehending the individuality of the Lithuanian language and in recognizing the foreign influences. The abundance of Lithuanian idioms that are distributed throughout his works is very great and shows us the full power and expressive possibilities of this

814 language. To be sure, Jablonskis was primarily a
195 grammarian and not an artist. Most important to him was simple clarity. But he always appreciated and welcomed also poets and thinkers taking part in the creation of the language, and never held back with his advice. (21)

[113] 21. A brief appreciation of Jablonskis in German is given by Vydūnas: "Schöpfer der litauischen Schriftsprache," Unsere Stimme (Tilsit), Vol. 2, pp. 27-28.

195 The third problem[1] that had to be overcome
197 in the creation of the Lithuanian literary language, and that was perhaps the most important of all, was a question of transforming the Lithuanian language from a peasant language into an instrument with which even the educated, the artist, and the scientist would be able to work. In this connection it was first of all a matter of elaborating the vocabulary. This, then, will be considered first.

192 If we will look at the vocabulary of the Lithuanian language, we must first of all refute the widespread notion that the language is poor in words. A peasant language may appear poor in words to a representative of Western city culture; but it never has been, absolutely speaking. In its living organism there is an enormous ramification. This is true for the Lithuanian language as for every other peasant language. The countless skills of the peasant's work, the diverse nuances of the peasant's life itself, of which the typical city person no longer has any knowledge, all bear special terms. In addition there is a second group of words and word formations that stem from the antiquity of the Lithuanian language and find no parallel in modern Western languages. Every language develops just as much from complexity to simplicity as from /27/ simplicity to complexity. We describe the former as typification and general-

[1] [cat. 116, pp. 25-27 -- Analyst]

ization. With the antiquity of Lithuanian, this typification has largely not yet been accomplished. Let us take for example the area of color expressions. Here the Lithuanian still knows no general color terms. He sees rather the nuances: the dress is a different gray than the horse, the cat different from the bird. Thus the Lithuanian language knows no less than five different terms for the color gray, two different terms for red, three for brown, and about five that in English can be described only as "colored", without, however, catching the particular nuance of the Lithuanian. The remaining colors already have attained their generic concept. Another example is the way the animals eat. The dog eats differently from the horse, the bird differently from the pig. For each type of eating there is a special expression that applies only to that case, but there is no standardization. These examples can be multiplied. It may be added that the number of words is considerably increased by the differences of the dialects; we may think, for example, of the terms of the Lithuanian farmhouse that have been taken over into the literary language from the dialects.

A third group of words, unknown to the Western languages, stems from the realm of a peasant way of life that is still distinguished today from that of the Western peasants and that has been expressed in special terms and turns of phrase. A fourth group is connected with the particular mental character of the Lithuanian, his faculty of perceptual observation, his feeling for language, etc.

Although this group applies as a differentiating and characteristic feature in the languages of all peoples, it seems in Lithuanian to be incomparably large. Let us take an example: rymoti. This word indicates a particular type of mostly sad meditation, in which the person concerned supports his head in his hand.

7: Jungfer-29 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

192 /28/ I give below a series of these expressions, which I encountered in a hasty thumbing of the dictionary. (22) They lie mostly in the area of

[113] 22. Niedermann, Senn, Brender, Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache (Heidelberg, 1932), Vol. 1.

man's bearing, and are especially characteristic of the terseness and conciseness of the Lithuanian language, primarily in terms for things observable through the senses:

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|---|---|
| atpēdžiui bēgti | -- to run back over the same track that one came by |
| atsikalti | -- to lean on something with the back |
| drebtelēti | -- to slap something viscious |
| dunksoti | -- to be indistinctly visible in the distance |
| gunginti | -- to go around bent over with highly raised shoulders |
| gucglinēti | -- to go around with the head constantly shaking |
| gurdelis | -- a man whose health is failing |
| gurinti | -- to walk with small steps in a bent-over posture |
| gužēti | -- to move rapidly in disorganized crowds |
| įkniubti | -- to concentrate on something with the head in the hands |
| dykinējimas | -- leisurely loitering about over a long period |
| saujelē | -- a handful |
| žiupsnis | -- as much as one can grasp with three fingers |

192 From the area of the mind, too, examples could be added. Let those mentioned here be enough to refute the story of the general paucity of words in Lithuanian. Further, the psychological difference between the Lithuanian and German languages is sufficiently indicated by what is said here. As early as the year 1800 it occurred to Mielcke in the preparation of his German-Lithuanian dictionary /29/ that "the concepts in the two languages are not constructed from the same characteristics and do not cover the same ground, and moreover if a Lithuanian word expresses the meaning of a German word, the connotations of each of these words are often at the same time extremely different." (23)

[113] 23. Christian Gottlieb Mielcke, Littauisch-deutsches und Deutsch-littauisches Wörterbuch (Königsberg, 1800), Preface, p. 4.

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195 We thus see that the Lithuanian language, as a result of the working together of the most varied factors, represents a finely organized and rich organism. But this richness lies, apart from the formal elements, in the main in the area of things perceived through the senses, of the objective. For the further development of the Lithuanian literary language the most important problem thus turned out to be its elaboration for the areas of the spiritual and intellectual, i.e. of art, science, technology, etc. This problem was insoluble as long as the Lithuanian people as a clearly defined and spiritually homobeneous mass had been cut off from the Western European development by the barrier of the Russian boundary and Russian oppression. One cannot construct a world of concepts in new words where the knowledge and understanding of the concepts themselves do not yet exist among the masses. First of all a broader educated class must be created to be the bearer of this new world of words and concepts, from which the newly gained knowledge

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can flow in a thousand channels over the whole land. Thus the problem of the creation of the Lithuanian language was subordinate to a much greater problem: it was a question of the destiny of the Lithuanian people, who had remained many decades behind the rapid Western European development, to win a place in Western intellectual life. This, however, was in turn possible only through language; not through a small circle of educated individuals obtaining this place by recourse to one world language or another, but through the whole people obtaining in its language a medium of expression and understanding by means of which it was in a position /30/ to take part in the further cultural development of the world. Both problems are conditional on each other and are only mutually soluble. The further development of the Lithuanian literary language involves, therefore, a problem just as much sociological as linguistic, unless one wanted to create an artificial language for a small circle, the secrets of which would have to remain incomprehensible to the broad masses. But no one thinks of such a thing in Lithuania.

Enormous was the task and tireless the labor that was expended. The problem was not to be solved by one linguist or even by linguistics as such. The development had rather to result through practical life. Who can imagine today the difficulties involved in animating with words a language that, in spite of all its internal richness and beauty, lacked the terms for the necessary articles in a modern office as well as for the furnishing of a city apartment? The rapid economic advance in Lithuania also pushed the linguistic development pitilessly forward, created words and terms and destroyed them again, until gradually that which had been proved remained, became established, and was carried over into the general vocabulary, above all through the press,

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which had to be linguistically creative to a high degree.

Thus the development of the Lithuanian literary language, if only in the speed with which it was effected, -- something similar applies, mutatis mutandis, to Lettish and Esthonian-- implies actually a revolution that represents something unheard of and unique in the history of languages. A complete terminology had to be created in all conceivable areas of knowledge; it was necessary to increase the expressive potentials for science, technology, and art to an unheard-of extent, to define concepts scientifically, to create nuances, in short to make up in a few years for what among other peoples had come about in organic growth over the course of centuries. The uniqueness of this development and of what has already been achieved has, /31/ it seems to me, not yet fully been grasped by the Lithuanian people, even in its educated classes. And yet this development of the language, together with the revelation of an unexpectedly strong popular will for life, implied a great intellectual advance, the only basis, as we have seen, on which it could be accomplished at all.

If we ask what has been accomplished today, after two decades, we see a large section of the charted course already travelled. The literary language as such has been stabilized like every other language and is spread across the whole country in a unified form through general instruction in the schools. The Slavic admixtures have largely been dropped off and hardly appear any more in the speech of the younger generation. Adaptation to the Western European world languages has made great progress; a scientific language is being formed. The leader in this area was the Lithuanian University. Naturally, this latter development, according to its nature, has not yet been concluded.

It is only natural that the further develop-

195 197 ment of the language in the various areas of intellectual life did not proceed everywhere with the same speed. It was primarily political, educational, and also economic problems which provided the material for the formation of the new literary language since the beginning of the 1880's, and it was in turn the same problems which, together with the objects of external civilization, necessarily became the prominent topics of literary discussion after the founding of the state, while the artistic and poetic element had to play a minor part in the consciousness of the people. Thereby the Lithuanian literary language remained essentially direct, natural, clear and concrete. The transfer of the objective to the spiritual, however, a practise so predominant today in the languages of the West and developed in the subtlest forms by whole generations of poets, has only recently become applicable in Lithuanian for the first time within narrow limits. Everything is still seen concretely; a spiritual feeling for metaphor has not yet been /32/ experienced. Thus in Lithuanian everyday speech one cannot say, to take a few everyday examples from the German language: die wandernden Jahre [the wandering years] (only a person can wander), ein sonniger Mensch [a sunny person] (a room is sunny), klingendes Spiel [sounding play], die versunkene Erinnerung [sunken memory] (a stone sinks in the water), reine Augen [pure eyes] (only an object is pure), in bescheidenen Grenzen, [within modest limits], etc. This spiritual feeling for metaphor, which today has already been transferred in part from the language of the Western poets into the everyday speech of their peoples, cannot now be awakened artificially but presupposes also a psychological transformation. Even in the German language it did not exist in an earlier period. In Lithuanian metaphor has existed from olden times

195 where it is a matter of the personification of
197 things. The best proof are the Lithuanian folk riddles: the river runs, the shoes gape, the grain comes home to sleep, etc. In modern Lithuanian poetry we find, on the other hand, the transition to the abstract throughout. Thus, for example, in Balys Sruoga (Saulē ir smiltys):

Go onto the long
Road of autumn. . .(p. 111)

or

. . .the stars which inflamed the heavens
With the fire of life --
I do not envy. (p. 62)

In modern poetry--in this connection I refer to the poetic imitations in the last chapter -- the spiritualization of the objective is thus shown in living images. It is to be expected that everyday language, too, will not escape this influence, once recent Lithuanian poetry has penetrated deeper into the people. The more slowly and organically this spiritual transformation process takes place, the richer will be the fruits to be expected from it.(24)

113 24. The most important scientific literature concerning the Lithuanian language of the nineteenth century is listed by Oscar Wiedemann, Handbuch der Litauischen Sprache (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 4-6. In particular may be mentioned: Leopold Geitler, Litauische Studien (Prague, 1875). Adalbert Bezzenberger, Beiträge zur Geschichte der litauischen Sprache. Auf Grund litauischer Texte des XVI. und des XVII. Jahrhunderts (Göttingen, 1877). By the

same author, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprache und des Volkstums der Litauer (Göttingen, 1882). Anton Baranowski and Hugo Weber, Ostlitauische Texte (Weimar, 1882). (See also the literature given in the chapter on folk poetry.)

/Unnumbered page with illustration--At the River/

## /33/ Chapter Two

## Lithuanian Folk Poetry

/Unnumbered note on Chapter Two/ Since with the vast amount of literature on Lithuanian folk poetry it appears impossible to give here a complete survey, I refer for the dainos to the "Bibliography of the Literature on the Lithuanian Dainos" (Lietuviškųjų dainų literatūros bibliografija) published by V. Biržiška in Mūsų Tautosaka (Kaunas, 1931), Vol. III, pp. 187-223. For the remaining branches of folk poetry see the notes to the section in Chapter Two "On the Study of Lithuanian Folklore."

### A. The Folk Song

### 1. The Melodies of the Lithuanian Songs

If language is the spiritual means of expression of a people, this expression itself finds its most beautiful glorification and exaltation in song. Not what a people sings in its songs is important here -- there are everywhere the same primitive emotions, pain and grief, joy and pride, longing and love; and in content the songs of probably all peoples are similar to each other on specific cultural levels. What differentiates them is the inner form in which the people clothes

000 its spiritual experiences. For in this lives the nature that surrounds the people, the gray sky of the north as well as the bright sun of the south, and the consciousness of historic destiny which led a people to slavery or freedom. But the manner of these spiritual experiences is determined decisively not only by the outer circumstances of life, but just as strongly by blood and race. If the folk poetry of the Ukrainians breathes pure lyricism while that of the White Russians is permeated with epic elements; if the German folk song, as Goethe already noted, is more inclined toward the ballad, the Lithuanian, on the other hand, toward the idyl, we will have to seek these different forms of experience of the outer world not only /34/ in varying national destinies, conditions of life, and physical surroundings. We will obtain beyond these a glimpse into a racially conditioned world of experience that is not without fascination. We will only have to guard ourselves from equating the knowledge of an inner world that we thus gain with the national character that is revealed in daily external life.

533 The Lithuanian folk song is a child of the lonely heath, and of the great forests; it was born in small, moss-covered huts in those quiet villages that are so deeply embedded in the wide sweep of the countryside that they seem to be part of it. It grew out of the slavery into which a people sank for centuries after a brief meteoric rise, and it found its foundation in the forms of a peasant way of life that reaches into our own day, built on old traditions. Thus it became itself almost a part of the Middle Ages.

One must hear the Lithuanian folk songs sung out of doors. In their melodies lives the Lithuanian countryside with its quiet lakes and forests, where the cuckoo calls, with its hot summers, when the sickle swishes, and its foggy autumn evenings, when the shepherd children, shivering, 533 warm themselves at the brushwood fire. Perhaps the evening sadness of the countryside in which the summer is so short speaks more strongly in them than the joy of the summer; and perhaps, too, something of the melancholy diffidence of a whole people toward its unhappy fate hovers in them.

Whoever has ridden through Lithuania has probably heard the song of the reapers coming home from work. He may have stopped before lonely forest farms from which sounded in the evening the song of a daina, drawn out and melancholy. Or he may have stood at the river, across whose surface the song of the woodcutter, working by night, echoed in slow waves.

/35/ But he will not know that many of these melancholy melodies conceal texts that are anything but sad, whose inner joyfulness appears through the melody as if hidden by a veil. This is a peculiarity of the Lithuanian song that is not immediately understandable for Western European musical interpretation. A special view of this matter is presented by Vydūnas: "Also connected with what was pointed out before is the fact that Lithuanian songs carry the stamp of melancholy for many, especially for non-Lithuanians, and that this is often actually interpreted as sadness. Undeniably there are Lithuanian songs that express deep sorrow. But the generalization of this fact rests on a misunderstanding. What is described as melancholy in the folk songs signifies a certain aloneness with one's own moods, a veiling of them. For this reason the melodies move frequently between half tones and usually are in minor." (1)

The old Lithuanian folk songs do not conform

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113 1. Vydūnas, "Der Charakter der litausichen Volksweisen," Zeitung der X. Armee, No. 511.

533 to the music of the West. They are unique in our time, for they rest on the diatonic scales of the Greek tonal system. (2) To be sure, the

[113] 2. Fr. Kurschat, Grammatik der littauischen Sprache (Halle, 1876), p. 448. "As far as I understand the matter, the Lithuanian songs reveal more or less Greek tonal systems. . ."

ancient character of the modes is often hidden today by the two-voiced method of singing in thirds which came from the West in the middle of the last century, but nevertheless the songs that have kept their oldest character are still sung today in one part (above all in southwestern Lithuania). The Lithuanian songs do not show the square structure (four and eight beats each time) of the German, (3) and very often there is an

[113] 3. Chr. Bartsch, Dainų Balsai, Melodien und deutsche Übersetzung litauischer Volkslieder (Heidelberg, 1886-89), 2 vols.; Vol. 1, p. 34, melody 27. (This song collection contains 392 dainos translated into German, the first stanza given also in Lithuanian.)

alternation between two, three, and five part rhythms. Especially typical is the alternation of 5/4 and 3/4 rhythm. These irregularities are, however, not arbitrary, but only prove that Lithuanian folk melodies, also in regard to rhythm, are constructed on the metrical system of the Greeks. The most loving investigator of Lithuanian folk melodies, Prof. Brazys, at the end of his work on the Singweisen der litauischen Dainos, compares an ancient Indian melody from the Artharva - /36/ Veda with a Lithuanian melody from the vicinity of Vilna that is still sung today. (4) With the similarity that both melodies exhibit in their principal features, Brazys arrives at the assumption that he has found the original source of the old Lithuanian music in that of the Indians. Here again, as before with language, the idea spontaneously arises of the primitive Indo-European homeland in which the ancient Lithuanian culture is anchored. But the distance that separates the musical experience of the Lithuanian from that of the Western peoples also becomes clear. It is shown not only in the melodies of the folk songs, but also in the religious chorales. During an Easter night that I spent in a Catholic parochial church in Samogitia this came deeply into my consciousness: the little church was filled completely with people, above whom waved the banners, the kerchiefs of the women shone with a vague white, touched by the weak glow of the few lights, and through the church windows penetrated the moonlight producing a mysterious, solemn twilight. The songs themselves were filled with a repressed fervor that had an almost oppressive effect. There was at times no longer any measured sequence of notes at all. Tones disappeared,

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4. T. Brazys, Die Singweisen der litauischen Dainos (Stuttgart, 1918). By the same author, "Lietuvių liaudies daina vestuvėse" /Lithuanian Wedding Songs/, Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1924), Vol. II, pp. 190-238. Also by the same author, "Kaikurie lietuvių ir latvių liaudies dainų melodijų giminystės bruožai" /Some Related Traits in the Melodies of Lithuanian and Lettish Folk Songs/, Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1928), Vol. V, pp. 215-224. Also by the same author, Lietuvių tautinių dainų melodijos/Melodies of Lithuanian Folk Songs/ (Kaunas, 1927). (199 melodies.)

533 jumped, blended with others, and instead of the sustained solemnity that speaks in the drawn-out textual half notes of the German chorale, for example, there resulted a whirl of sensations, an inner excitement that surged rhythmically up and down and seemed to drag everyone along with it in the same manner.

In these Easter songs, as in many old Christmas songs, the tempo leaps often in the singing from the 2/4 rhythm into 3/4 and then into 4/4. Through the unusual acceleration, which gave the melody -- for example in a Gloria that I heard -- after an initial solemnity an almost dance-like character, the climax of a joyful mood was reached. The influence of ancient folk melodies on religious music was unmistakable here. According to Hoffheinz, the same phenomenon is shown in the church music of the Lutheran Lithuanians too. (5)

[113] 5. Cf. W. Hoffheinz, Giesmų Balsai, Litauische Kirchengesänge, published by the Lithuanian Literary Society (Tilsit, 1894), Introduction: "He (the Lithuanian) leaps in his melodies, draws over the tones, and changes the rhythm . . . From where do they get these melodies? -- Who is able to discover that now? Certainly many have arisen from ancient dainos melodies." (The influence of Lithuanian folk song on church music has, as far as I know, not yet been investigated. For Germany cf. here for example the interesting investigation by Prof. Fellerer, "Der Durchbruch deutschen Musikempfindens im liturgischen Gesang des Mittelalters," Funde und Forschungen, 1938, No. 7, pp. 75-76.)

[71] /37/ With the deep religiosity of the Lithuanian people, religious songs and hymns play no less a role in their life than the folk songs.

533 Indeed among the Protestant Lithuanians at the border, among whom a peculiarly tinged puritanical way of life has been developed, the giesmē -- the religious song -- has actually replaced the daina -- the folk song. Giesmių knygos -- religious song books -- are found here in the poorest huts.

The giesmē is distinguished further from folk song in that it is always sung in parts, while the dainos themselves began as one-voiced songs. Although since the middle of the last century they have been sung in two parts, often with a leader (rinkējas) giving rhythm and melody, they nevertheless still today bear the character of one-part songs so strongly that the modern choral arrangements of the folk songs, such as we hear for example at great song festivals, often seem to obliterate their original nature. Bartsch has already correctly noted this fact. (6) The attempt is thus to find a special style of harmony that is suited to the nature of the old songs.

The question of rhythm that arises in connection with the question of melody has been treated by many students of the Lithuanian songs. In contrast to folk songs of other nations, the rhythm of the words sung in Lithuanian song does not coincide at all with the rhythm of the spoken words. Nesselmann shows us this in a nice example. (7) The beginning of a song: "On the bridge I

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6. Chr. Bartsch, see above, Vol. II, pp. VII-VIII.

[13] 7. G. H. Nesselmann, Dainos, Littauische Volkslieder, gesammelt, kritisch bearbeitet und metrisch übersetzt, mit einer Musikbeilage (Berlin, 1853), Introduction, p. IX. (This collection contains 410 folk songs with translations and about 60 melodies.)

533 stood, with the girl I spoke," sounds, according to the word accent: Ant tiltúžio stóvejau, su mergýte kálbejáu. Thus what Bartsch says of the melodies applies also to the texts of the Lithuanian songs, which conform so closely to the melodies that we can /38/ in no way do justice to their true rhythm with the conventional methods of measuring in dactyls, trochees, iambs, etc. It may be added that hardly any ordinary Lithuanian is able to recite to us the text of a folk song, as, for example, a song is recited in German. He lapses immediately into the rhythm of the melody or begins to stammer.

The Lithuanian folk song thus still stands at that ancient stage of development where the verbal content of a song is completely dominated by the rhythm of the melody. How the primary feature of each folk song is the melody, how this melody at first makes use of only certain natural sounds for its expression but gradually is developed in the direction of a meaningful text -- this fascinating metamorphosis is still recognized today in the Lithuanian folk song.

## 2. The Origin of the Dainos. The Work Song.

In his excellent Studies on the Poetry of the Dainos (8) B. Sruoga draws a picture of the origin of the Lithuanian folk song. He shows us in ancient dancing songs how originally the melody expressed the rhythm and the joy of the dance in onomatopoetic form in a series of apparently meaningless word formations:

Čiulado, čiuladyta!
Lig čiuladytela, lylio!

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[113] 8. B. Sruoga, Dainų Poetikos Etiudai/ Studies on the Poetry of the Dainos/ (Kaunas, 1927).

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Saduto, ruto, lingo, tatato, tato!
Saduto, ruto, lingo, tatato, tato! (9)

[113] 9. A. R. Niemi and A. Sabaliauskas, "Lietuvių dainos ir giesmēs" /Lithuanian Dainos and Giesmes/, Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Vol. VI, pp. 301 and 298 (quoted according to Sruoga, op. cit., p. 40. The collection includes song texts recorded in 1459 in northeastern Lithuania and 26 melodies) (Helsinki, 1912).

Sruoga shows further how these "meaningless" words gradually are partially developed into words with meaningful stems and finally into meaningful words, which at the next stage still /39/ form an inseparable unity with the meaningless ones. This is done partly in imitation of natural sounds:

A gosling swam across the lake,
Across the lake.
Gu, gu, gu, gu, gu, gu,
Across the lake.

The girl is dancing
Prettily kasatšchok,
Cak, cak, cak, cak, cak, cak,
Prettily kasatschok. (10)

[113] 10. Antanas Juszkewicz, Lietuviszkow Dajnos, uszraszytos Welunos apigardoje /Lithuanian Dainos, Recorded in the Parish of Welunos/ (Kasan, 1882), No. 1520. (This large three-volume collection contains the texts of 1569 songs.)

Lithuanian songs are extremely rich in such words and reflect in them a whole scale of moods; thus for example the words sadutoj lingo picture

533 a high-spirited, joyful mood, and the words lilia, tutoj liliulia a passive and melancholy one. In the last stage these words of feeling, which formed the original master of the songs, are relegated into the refrain and may even be forgotten later. In recent modern songs the refrain has a visibly different significance. Yet it is important for demonstrating the historical origins of the old songs, for it reveals the driving force of the musical rhythm that conditioned the origin of the song. This rhythm itself has the most varied sources, of which we already mentioned one, the dance. Furthermore the tones of special ancient Lithuanian musical instruments, as Biržiška describes them, (11) are not without significance for its development, as well as the tones which man took from nature which surrounded him. Thus the Lithuanian hears the song of the nightingale:

Jurgiuk! Jurgiuk! Jurgiuk!
Kinkyk! Kinkyk! Kinkyk!
Vaziuok! Vaziuok! Vaziuok!
Sustok! Sustok! Sustok!

George! George! George!
Hitch up! Hitch up! Hitch up!
Drive off! Drive off! Drive off!
Pull up! Pull up! Pull up!

/40/ Other sounds, too, of animals and birds have found their expression in human song, but the most important impetus for the origin of the songs came from human labor. In his beautiful book Arbeit und Rhythmus the German economist Bücher has unequivocally established these relat-

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11. M. Biržiška, Dainos keliais/On the Ways of the Folk Song/ (Vilna, 1921), pp. 22-24.

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ionships. (12) It affords a special fascination

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12. K. Bücher, Arbeit und Rhythmus (Leipzig, 1902).

to pursue the lines of thought of this important scholar, who was also an artist, precisely in the case of the Lithuanian folk songs, since these still contain very original elements. Lithuanian research, too, has been stimulated by Karl Bücher to independent investigations concerning the Lithuanian working song and its development.(13

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13. On the Lithuanian working song cf. B. Sruoga, op. cit., pp. 29-35; as well as the chapter "Darbo daina" (The Work Song) in Biržiška, op. cit., pp. 33-62. Also M. Biržiška, Dainų istorijos vadovėlis (A Guide to the History of the Dainos) (Kaunas, 1925), pp. 42-53.

Every primitive type of labor carries a certain rhythm within itself, whether it is connected with a pushing forward or pulling back or a raising and lowering of the arms. It is dependent on certain primitive tools which demand again and again the same motion within set intervals of time as, for example, in the use of a loom. As far as this labor does not imply any independent thinking, the worker, whether he works alone or in groups, eases his activity with a song. But, just as with the dancing songs mentioned at the beginning, at the earliest stage of development it is not a song with meaningful words that we hear, but simple, natural sounds that are suited to the rhythm of the activity and characterize the type of work onomatopoetically. Representing the rhythm of the motions which are not equal in their importance -- for example raising and lowering of the arms -- the primitive working song consists of two lines, of which the

533 second has a lesser significance. A part of the song is now gradually filled with independent content, with words that usually characterize the movement of the work itself. The natural sounds, on the other hand, become gradually the refrain that is repeated after every line. A classic example of this transition is formed by the old weaving song with which the song collection of Niemi-Sabaliauskas begins:

> /41/ I wove neatly, tatatela
> A bundle at a time, tatatela
> The thread fast, tatatela
> A shuttle at a time, tatatela, etc.

One hears here clearly the sound of the loom, which is kept going by the weaver with her feet, while she accompanies the necessary motions of the hand with the words of the song. The refrain itself - no matter whether it now consists of onomatopoetic sounds or words -- is the really constant thing in these songs. It gains in importance where it is a matter of work that is carried out by a group of people at the same time. Here only the leader sings the text of the song, which he improvises, whereas the chorus repeats only the refrain.

While the refrain in its nature is related to the rhythm of the work, the other part of the song has the potentiality of freer development. Thus it comes that the worker, each according to his mood, puts into this part the most varied ideas and feelings, which refer not only to the work. We can observe this development in a whole series of working songs that were sung with the turning of the hand mill and that almost all begin with the same words: Malu, malu viena, pasižiūru -- diena ("I grind, grind alone, I look around me -- it is day") while the texts express the most varied feelings of the working girl. As

533 everywhere else, so also in Lithuania the change of working conditions has slowly brought about the disappearance of the ancient work songs. The abolition of compulsory service, which forced many people into common activity, the ending of the talka, the free industrial associations in the villages, and finally the replacing by improved working implements of such primitive tools as are represented, for example, by the hand mill worked in one direction. But the song that was once sung with the monotonous rhythm of the work did not disappear; it experienced only /42/ a transformation: the section in which the singer once expressed his feelings and moods could now unfold with complete freedom and became genuine folk song. This is the course of development of an uncounted series of Lithuanian songs, whose genesis would today be obscure if certain components of text and rhythm did not betray their origin. This is shown especially clearly in the beautiful song translated by Rhesa: "The Girl at the Crank," whose first stanzas show the ancient beginning of the songs sung at the hand mill:

Roar, roar
You millstones!
Methinks I did not grind alone.

Alone I ground,
Alone I sang,
Alone I turn the crank.

Why did you concern yourself,
Oh tender youth,
With me, wretched girl?

You knew well indeed,
Oh sweet boy,
That I did not sit at court:

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Up to the knee,
Into the bog,
Up to the shoulders
Into the water . . .
Wretched my days! (14)

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14. Ludwig Rhesa, Dainos oder litthauische Volkslieder (Königsberg, 1825). New edition with some corrections by Kurschat (Berlin, 1843), No. 2. Goethe's review of the collection is in Werke (Stuttgart, 1833), Vol. 46, pp. 346-367. (The Rhesa collection contains 85 dainos with German translations. Cf. here also the Hausschatz der Volkspoesie by O. L. B. Wolff (Leipzig, 1853).

When there was no longer any direct connection between song and work, content and rhythm frequently changed, so that its origin can today no longer be recognized.

If we conceive of the idea of work in the broader sense as any human activity, we see with Biržiška (15) /43/ that all working songs can be divided into two groups. One group was sung at common activities -- at flax-scutching, at haymaking, at rye-mowing, or at dancing, etc. -- the other by individuals at the hand mill, at the loom, at milking, at washing. Here belong also the sailor and shepherd songs and the cradle songs which the mothers sang as they set into rhythmic motion the wicker cradle hanging down from the ceiling:

Lylia, lylia, little rue blossom,
Lylia, lylia, little golden ring.

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15. M. Biržiška, Dainos keliais, loc. cit. p. 40.

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Čiučia liulia, my little one,
Liulia, my poor little baby. (16)

16. Ibid., p. 52.

Almost all of the individually sung songs of this type breathe a sad, yearning mood, while those sung out of doors are mostly filled with humor and joy:

Valioi, you meadows, valioi!
Valioi, you green ones, valioi!
My sickle is all of steel, valioi!
My sickle is not sharpened, valioi!
My rake is beautifully carved, valioi!
A present from my dear boy, valioi! (17)

17. Ibid., p. 57.

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535 The Lithuanian dancing songs above all breathe joyfulness. At another place we have already seen how originally the rhythm of the dance, lacking musical accompaniment, was produced by the dancers themselves. Today, of course, there is musical accompaniment, and to each dance belongs a series of joyful songs:

When the fox dances and the hare dances,
All animals dance,
And the deer with long horns,
He stamps up and down.
/44/ When the crow dances, the magpie dances,
All birds dance,
The crane with the long beak
Strides up and down, etc. (18)

18. Ibid., p. 47.

The old Lithuanian folk dances, which must

535 The old Lithuanian folk dances, which must be treated here, had been almost forgotten until very recently and were revived only a few years ago. They are of great interest for the understanding of a certain mental attitude. Let us take for example the old dance "blezdingēlē" /the little swallow/, a group dance in which girls and boys draw themselves up in two rows (similar to the wedge-shaped formation of wild geese), with white handkerchiefs in their hands, and imitate the flight of swallows by gentle raising and lowering of their arms (see illustration), while they step once forward and once backward, singing. We thus see an unusual grace and an astonishing sensitiveness for a folk dance; it is as if the wind were passing across a cornfield. The further figures consist in the partners going together toward the middle and the couples crawling alternately under their highly raised arms to music that becomes faster and faster. In another dance, "kepurēlē" /the little cap/, two couples stand opposite each other. They seize each other first by one hand and turn to the right; then the same movements take place to the left. At the second verse of the melody the boys take their caps off and the couples bow to each other crosswise. There follows in the same position a turning and bowing to the outside. The whole thing is repeated two or three times. A large number of the old folk dances are danced in a similarly delicate and gracious manner. A real dance of spring is the "kubilas," also illustrated, which still lives today in Suvalkija.

About a half century ago new folk dances came into fashion that express a completely different mental attitude. It was above all the "suktinis" /45/ (slow waltz), which came from the cities, passed over into the villages, and superseded many other dances. As a matter of fact, the "suktinis" is not an original folk dance, but an example of adaptation of a higher cultural good to popular use. The melody stems from an

535 opera overture and bears a Polish-Czech stamp. The couples take hold of each other, hold their arms folded on their back, and step forward in polka tempo, until with the change of tempo a turning takes place while alternately the girls and boys, one partner or the other, whirl around backwards in a circle. The dance "norių miego," often danced today, is also not an original Lithuanian folk dance but the arrangement of an Esthonian one. (19)

> 19. For the statements on the dances "suktinis" and "norių miego" I am indebted to the chief of the folklore archives, Dr. J. Balys.

The peasant in the country knows in addition German dances. He dances for example the quadrille and also the waltz, although with a small variation. He also loves those old, characteristic round dances, which give all the dancers opportunity to be active at the same time. They are danced in every village. The Lithuanian describes his round dances not as "dances" but as "games."

There is pictured the sowing, growth, blossoming, and harvesting of the poppy, for example. Men and women dancers grasp each other by the hand in a closed circle, while the boldest and liveliest girl takes her place in the middle and gives the sign for the beginning of the round. The circle then begins a striding motion and stops at times to imitate -- always with an accompanying song -- the various motions with which the girl standing in the middle represents the growing of the poppy symbolically. The dance is called "aguonēlē" /little poppy plant/. Many other rounds are danced in a similar manner, relating to the animal, bird, and plant worlds. On fine summer afternoons girls and boys go outside the

535 village onto the broad main road for the round dance.

The Lithuanian song dances offer the spectator a gay and colorful picture, particularly when the girls /46/ appear in their old national costume on festive occasions. The colorful bodice, the long, gay, fluttering ribbons fastened to the headdress, the shining aprons -- everything breathes joyousness and is combined with the character of the dances into a unified, beautiful picture.

533 3. Motifs and Content of the Dainos

The Lithuanian dancing songs are songs of the summer, which ring in the evenings, when outside before the village the torches blaze and the ground shakes from the rhythm of the dance. But already an examination of the old folk dances, melodies, and work songs has shown us that such primitive expressions of optimistic joy are not the really characteristic feature of Lithuanian folk poetry as a whole. In content the Lithuanian songs include probably the whole human scale of feelings, but over most of them lies a shy reserve. Even where the daina turns into a folk ballad it retains in its expression this characteristic stamp.

The Lithuanian folk ballad has not yet been subject to investigation by literary criticism. The question as to how far the epic elements which many dainos contain are formed in the manner of a ballad, i.e. dramatically, cannot be decided immediately, since the concept of the ballad itself varies. In an as yet unpublished essay "Über die litauische Volksballade," very kindly put at my disposal, Dr. J. Balys investigates the epic element in 45 dainos, which he divides into ballads of natural magic, ghost ballads, horror ballads, sentimental ballads, ballads of fate and historical sagas. As follows from the whole nature of

533 the dainos, the so-called sentimental ballads predominate; also the fate and saga ballads sppear only as a subordinate variety. Ghost and horror ballads, on the other hand, are far less common. Many of these poems are of the monologue type -- the sufferer himself relates his fate. In addition, however, we find /47/ epic elements that picture the situation and dialogues with dramatic climaxes. The connections with German poetry are minor; but the contacts with Slavic poetry are strong.

The difference between the Lithuanian folk ballad, thus outlined, and the German seems to me to lie essentially in the fact that the external plot is in no sense an end in itself, if we observe one of these poems as a whole. The mysterious, gruesome, or fateful elements (ghost, horror, and fate ballads) are indeed mentioned, but without elaboration; rather they are reflected in the moods of sorrow and pain. The reality appears as if seen from afar, and is mentioned mostly as the basis for the emotional experience which constitutes the real content of the ballad: the youth rides into battle. The song sings of the departure and the pain of those remaining behind. The boy is killed in battle. We learn nothing about his ride, nor of the details of the battle. Only the horse turns back and gives notice of his death. Or the youth is killed in battle, and the sorrow of his surviving mother, sister, and fiancee are movingly expressed in the song. From these two folk ballads Adalbert von Chamisso formed his beautiful poetic imitation "Der Sohn der Witwe." Since it is experienced completely in the Lithuanian mood and contains only few of the poet's own additions, it may find its place here as the best example of the Lithuanian folk ballad:

> The swans approached with the song of war:
> To horse, to horse! it resounded.

From all the farms around ride
533 The young sons to the army.

/48/ It is very bad with us,
And no one stays when one enlists.

You are going, my intended, my brother, my son,
You are going to war, that we know.

We women wait on the soldier,
The betrothed adjusts the plume for you,

Sister leads out the horse for you,
Mother opens the farmyard gate for you.

When will you return, my intended, my brother, my child,
When will you return? tell us quickly.

When air and water and land are free,
Then I shall delay no longer, then I shall hurry back.

And air and water and land are free,
Why does he delay longer and not hurry back?

We women, we want to go to meet him,
We want to see him from the hill.

There the women wait and watch the valley
Along the road in the rays of the sun.

And the sun rises and sets,
No rider appears.

Now the dust rises, now comes running toward them
A horse--no rider sits on it.

They seize it, they question it:
How is it, my horse, that you come home alone?

/Unnumbered page with illustration--Swallow Dance/

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/49/ Evil horse, did you flee from your master?
Where was my intended, my brother, my son?

They shot him in the battle,
And made him his bed on the green meadow.

Me they let run away,
I have sorrowfully delivered the message.

Three swans approached with lamentation
Along the meadow to seek a grave.

They sat down when they saw it,
A swan at his feet, at his head, at his side.

At the head the sister, at the feet the betrothed,
At the side the mother, grown quite gray.

Oh woe, woe, we three bereaved!
Who will join in our lament?

Thereupon the sun, bowing, began:
I will join in, as well as I can.

Nine days I shall mourn in a veil of haze
And not appear on the tenth.

The mourning of the betrothed lasted three weeks,
The mourning of the sister lasted three years,

The mother kept on mourning
Until, tired out, she was herself laid in her grave. (20)[1]

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[1] [see p.56, cat. 113--Analyst]

533 As here,[1] so in all Lithuanian songs the epic element finds in the end its resolution in pure lyricism. This /50/ lyricism avoids if possible even the mention of concrete facts. Its nature is rooted in the elaboration of moods and inner experience. "Since the singers in Lithuania," says the Finnish Professor Niemi, "as in Esthonia and Ingermanland, are young girls, one could not expect that they would take a strong interest in the heroic epic, a situation quite different from that in Finnish and Russian Karelia, where the bearers of folk poetry were old men." (21) As a matter of fact, most of the songs sung today in Lithuania are girls' songs, and this explains also the disproportionately strong predominance of love songs in Lithuanian folk poetry. One day in a Samogitian peasant family I myself had sung to me a daina, at the end of which the two daughters of the household looked at me expectantly. When I expressed praise for the melody, the older daughter, blushing, explained to me that she herself with her sister had composed the song during the past week, and had invented the melody for it. When one considers that the folk songs still originate today in Lithuania in this manner, one understands that there is a very

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[113] 20. Adalbert von Chamisso, Werke (Berlin, 1864), 5th ed., Vol. I, pp. 164-166. (For the ending of this poem[1] there are in Lithuanian no less than 37 variations. Cf. J. Balys, "Nuo žirgo kritęs bernelis" (The Boy Thrown from the Horse), Tautosakos Barbai, Vol. I, pp. 142-178).

[113] 21. A. Miemi, "Die Beziehungen zwischen der litauischen und der finnischen Volkspoesie," Litauische Warte, 1920, No. 1, p. 13.

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 53-55 -- Analyst]

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personal relationship between the Lithuanian and his song tradition. Even during the World War the current of songs of this song-loving people did not come to a stop, as the most recent collections prove. (22) A song that finds favor begins to wander and experiences many transformations. Perhaps a few hours from its point of departure it is already sung quite differently. In songs with local coloring, therefore, we come upon the most varied names of cities and rivers. A song that originated at the border and that mentions Riga and the Düna River replaces them in its wandering to the west perhaps with Tilsit and the Memel. This is a process that one also finds in German songs, especially such as are sung by wandering artisans -- only with the difference that in Germany this development is today mostly completed, while in Lithuania it is still in full swing. As the texts of the songs are changed, so also the melodies. This goes along with the /51/ primitive nature of the folk song. Frequently in this manner even the basic idea becomes incomprehensible in the loosened context.

If we observe the content of the Lithuanian songs according to certain basic viewpoints, we realize that any division into specific groups must remain artificial, for as a matter of fact the people transform their whole life into song. Human life, however, defies any classification. Furthermore the similarity, mentioned at the beginning, of the motifs within the Aryan racial family applies especially to the content of the dainos. For that reason not everything that may be said about the content of the Lithuanian songs is typical only of Lithuanian folk poetry; however the stage of culture, the character of the people,

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22. Jonas Norkus, Didžiojo karo laikų lietuvių dainos (Songs from the period of the World War) (Kaunas, 1927).

and the conditions of life determine basic differences in the method of their treatment.

Among the Lithuanian folk songs we find many that treat of ancient, long vanished situations. Thus many tell of the theft of brides and of the cult of the dead, of old customs today forgotten. Such songs afford us valuable knowledge concerning the temporal changes in the way of life of the people, may it be a matter of housekeeping, cultivation of the fields, preparation of paints, and other things, religious or mythical customs, of superstition, magic, or of ancient folk customs and habits at funerals and weddings. No cultural-historical presentation of Lithuania can, therefore, pass over the dainos. In the mythological songs the stars are animate, the sun appears as a mother who warms the shepherd children, the moon as a father, the stars are brothers. The god of heaven, Perkunas, throws his thunderbolts. The holy numbers three and nine play a great role. Songs that are sung at specific religious feasts, for example on St. John's Eve, also belong here; the ancient god of the fields, Kupalo, is fused into one person with this saint: Kupolau Sventas Jonas -- Kupalo, St. John. The following is an example of this group of songs:

/52/ The Lost Ring

Under the maple flows the spring
Where the sons of God
Go dancing in the moonlight
With the daughters of God.

To the spring under the maple
I went to wash myself,
As I washed my face very clean
My ring fell in.

Will then the sons of God come
With their silken nets
And fish for me my dear little ring
Out of the deep water?

There came by a young boy
High on a brown horse,
And the horse, the brown one, had
Golden horseshoes.

Come here, my maid,
Come here, you girl,
Come, let us talk fondly for a bit,
Let us dream sweet dreams,
Where the spring is deepest,
Where the love is dearest.

Alas, I cannot, youth,
Cannot, kind boy.
My mother would scold me,
The old one would scold;
I would come home late,
I would come home late. (23)

23. L. Rhésa, op. cit., No. 48.

The song reproduced here is also of interest because it contains the ring motif, a primitive wandering /53/ motif that reaches into distant antiquity and is equally loved among the ancient Greeks, among the Indians and Germans.

The motif of transformation represents a very fascinating mythical theme; one of the oldest human notions is based on the belief in transformations into trees or birds. The soul of a man continues its own life after death as a bird and sings with an infinitely sweet voice. The girl or the forsaken brother is changed into a cuckoo, a dove, or a wild gray duck and laments at the house of the parents. Then the brothers come together and ask: what bird sings to beautifully there? Mother, sister, and betrothed appear at midnight to the dead warrior, sit about him, and lament. The Lithuanian hears a cry of woe especially in the call of the cuckoo. At times, too, the cuckoo is a prophetic bird:

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Say, little cuckoo, say
Where is our sister?

The souls of hated persons, however, are transformed into owls:

The uncle's soul, like an owl,
Sat in blindness.

Along with transformations into birds the folk song is familiar with transformations into trees. These ideas, too, are very old. They may once have grown out of the belief in the origin of people from trees; we may think, for example, of Ask and Embla, the first people of the Germanic saga.

Out of such songs speaks the close relationship of man with the nature that surrounds him, in whose rhythm these songs themselves swing along like a gentle accompanying harmony of the infinite. This stands out especially beautifully in the love /54/ songs. It is precisely these which breathe that shy restraint and tenderness of feeling which sets the Lithuanian folk song off from the songs of many other peoples. Love itself confronts us in all its primitiveness and directness, but still like a tender secret. We find no picturing of the beauty of the beloved apart from the usual epithets: the red cheeks, the blond hair, the beautiful figure, etc. Only the boy, the youth, the girl, the maid, is sung of:

As the young son rode to his maid,
The old father knew nothing of it.
But he notes it in the brown horse
And in his son's festive clothes.

"Ei, my son, you dear young boy,
Where have you been in the dark night? --
Where did you heat the dark brown horse?--
Where did you strike the horseshoe of steel?"--

533 "Do not scold me, my dear old father,
That I now want to take home my maid.
I will get me a green carriage
And set before it a two-horse team."

I came riding home at midnight,
My old father was not yet in bed,
He opened for me himself the large gate,
And stopped the dark brown horses.

My dear old father asked me:
"Who lighted your way in the dark night?"
"Oh, two bright stars lighted my way,
The fiery eyes of my dear maid." (24)

24. Nesselmann, op. cit., No. 131.

But just these songs are accompanied by the note of yearning and sorrow which in part controls the melodies so strongly that one Lithuanian scholar /55/ comes to the conclusion: "The Lithuanian folk song is a primitive mourning, an infinite yearning, an unresolved pain with the quiet reflection of another existence." (25) There

25. B. Sruoga, op. cit., p. 9.

are always the same recurring motifs--of the boy who was killed in battle or abandoned the maid forever, of life abroad, of hard work in the house of the unloved husband, of longing for home, of the garland that was lost -- and with it the innocence of virginity:

The cuckoo calls in the linden--
My heart is troubled and sad,
My garland blows in the wind
Far over the mountains and lake.

With silken sails go
The boats out onto the sea,

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My green garland
They will never bring back again.

Most of the Lithuanian wedding songs are also attuned to melancholy and longing, above all those that are sung on the mergvakaris (maiden evening), when the playmates of the bride braid her hair and decorate her for the wedding. I have treated in detail the Lithuanian wedding songs and customs in a special chapter of an earlier book on Lithuanian folklore, and gave there also a number of translations of folk songs.

Let only this much be said here, that it is precisely the group of wedding songs which as no other contains all the tones and moods that are characteristic elsewhere of Lithuanian folk song. In the Lithuanian wedding drama -- for it must so be characterized -- the party of the groom with his companions stands over against the bride and her playmates. The action itself, which extends over a number of days, with its ancient /56/ ceremonies and customs, is accompanied by the alternate songs of the two parties. "Thus the wedding itself is a contest in the most beautiful, in the most musical songs." (26) Just in these wedding songs, however, a sudden roguishness, a strong streak of humor, frequently breaks through and stands in strong contrast to the melancholy farewell songs of the bride. Not only the bride is mocked, not only the pirschlis, the matchmaker, who has won the girl with lies, is reprimanded in the song--the mother of the bride is mocked with special glee, and even the wedding guests have to put up with a few things:

Why does the wedding guest sigh?
The hat is not his own,
Borrow, begged,
Barked at by dogs. (27)

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26. M. Biržiška, Vadovēlis, op. cit. p. 55.

533 27. Niemi-Sabaliauskas, op. cit., No. 842.

Let it be added that the love songs, too, which treat of meeting and getting acquainted before the marriage, are not lacking in such primitive tones. Here the humorous songs bear frequently the character of pleasant roguishness:

Oh God, do not give me
Such a fate,
That in the same village
My boy friend grows up.

Then I would always have to
Do nothing but wash laundry
Go about every day
In a white dress.

Oh God, give me
Such a fate,
Let him live
A short distance away.

/57/ Then I will have time
To wash laundry
And go about every Sunday
In a white dress. (28)

[113] 28. Daynas Zemayczių surynktas yr yszdutas par Symona Stanewicze (Wylniuje, 1829), pp. 12-13.

With the groups of ballads, working and dancing songs, mythological songs, love songs, wedding songs, and finally humorous songs discussed so far, we have obtained a survey, though brief, of the content and most important motifs of the Lithuanian folk songs. We have seen here almost every activity, every mood, and every process observed in nature is turned into a song,

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and that correspondences to all mental processes are always found in nature. With this we confront the question of the form and artistic means of expression of the Lithuanian folk song.

## 4. Form and Means of Expression in the Dainos

In contrast, for example, to the folk songs of the White Russians, the Lithuanian songs are always contructed in strophes. To be sure, the regular strophic form of the recent songs often does not exist in the old dainos. There it is frequently irregular and indistinct. (29) Songs of more than one strophe predominate. The strophes themselves are put together in the most varied ways. A special recent song form, employed especially in humorous songs, is represented by the single strophe, dainuška. In addition, however, there are also very old one-verse songs, and, as we saw at the beginning, probably the oldest song form consists of a single line with a refrain:

The bee buzzes, buzzes kadijela.
Little bee, little bee, kadiju.

The difficult question of the rhythm of the Lithuanian songs has already been touched on in

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29. In this fact lies also the reason why disagreement exists on this question in the field of Lithuanian song research itself. Thus, for example, B. Sruoga's opinion that "in the Lithuanian folk songs the strophe is, as a rule, absolutely necessary" (op. cit., p. 21) is contested by Dr. Balys and others for the older songs. (Cf. here also L. Gira, "Lietuviškos eilėdaros kūrimosi raida" (The Development of the Lithuanian Verse Form), Darbai ir Dienos, Vol. III, pp. 130-213.)

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connection with the melodies and the work song. Just as controversial is /58/ the question of rime. According to Bezzenberger "the genuine Lithuanian folk poetry is familiar with rime and employs it often consistently." (30) Bezzenberger'

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30. Adalbert Bezzenberger, Litauische Forschungen, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprache und des Volkstums der Litauer (Göttingen, 1882), pp. IX-X. (One of the most valuable works of the older folklore research. It contains, among other things, 67 folk songs with a musical accompaniment, 12 folk tales, close to 100 riddles, over 100 proverbs, a large number of curses and swear words, as well as a valuable section on "superstitious and other popular ideas and customs of the Lithuanians." Written 1879-1881.)

however, does not prove his point conclusively, since the dainos cited by him do not belong to the really typical folk songs. We can, therefore, more readily say that the old dainos are always unrimed and the rime which occasionally turns up indicates a more recent stage of development (31)

31. B. Sruoga, op. cit., p. 29.

As a matter of fact, the numerous diminutive forms, which we treated in detail in the chapter on language, and which are attached to almost any word, frequently stand in such a relationship to each other that the divergent views of the investigators on this point are understandable. Whoever hears the Lithuanian songs sung, is impressed primarily by the rhythm in the alternation of long and short syllables, and he will be inclined to regard the rime as an obtrusive link that does not properly suit the delicately organized structure of the daina. The diminutives themselves, which we also meet in the older German folk songs--

though in far smaller number--lend to the daina the character of pleasantness and intimacy, especially since not only the principal word but also the corresponding adjective appears in the diminutive form: seselē--jaunuolēlē--"little sister, the (dear) young one." I must refer here to what was said in the first chapter concerning the diminutives and would like only to add that a translation of the dainos texts into the German language frequently comes to grief precisely on this fascinating peculiarity. A literal translation, as, for example, Schleicher attempted in 1857:

> Ei Schwester, ei Schwesterchen, Schwesterlein mein,
> Du weisst viel, was Krieg ist, das Krieglein, das Kriegchen,
> Da fliegen die Kugeln, die Kügelein, Kügelchen,

seems in German at best mawkish. And although the Lithuanian people seem more conditioned by their feelings than, for example, the Germans, one should not forget /59/ that among the countless diminutives which overgrow the dainos like a beautiful, wild flower garden, many have already become stereotyped and have thus lost their original emotional significance. This is especially clearly shown with the epithets, the ornamental adjectives. The stubborn adherence to old memories has resulted in numerous stereotyped adjectives and phrases that were again and again taken over into new songs. Sometimes one feels reminded of Homer. Almost always a breath of tenderness and infinite joy in idealizing hovers over these adjectives. Here is the urge to outgrow gray reality and to construct a more beautiful world of joy in oneself. Here speaks the joy in the flashy and ostentatious, and on the other hand the longing for the noble and good, as it

533 moves the heart of depressed mankind. Thus the simple peasant girl becomes a tender lily, and the yoke with which she goes to the well is of silver; the stirrups of the boy gleam with gold, and the windows of the poor hut shine like diamonds. The boats sail into the sea with silken sails. The ideal beauty of the daina is nordic--it knows only blond braids of the girls. Not all these epithets, but a large part of them, have frozen into stereotyped phrases. In part they are of a tautological nature. The "young" boy who rides to the maid, the "green" rue which blooms in the garden, the "old" mother. The daina never forgets these words. In part they are also of an explanatory nature. White and green are the favorite colors; in addition shining things play a role, and thus even the gray, homely cuckoo becomes at times a shining, gaily colored bird. (32)

[113] 32. Cf. here Dowkong (Daukantas), Daynes Zenaitiû, pagal Žodiû Dajninikû iszraszytas (Petropilie, 1846), pp. 8, 10: margouie gagelē and marga gegelē. This collection of "Samogitian songs, recorded in the words of the singers," is one of the most valuable older collections; it contains 118 dainos.

The joy in specific colors, for example white and green, can even lead to their being occasionally used where they do not belong. To the stereotyped old constructions belong also the doubling of infinitives and verbs--swim swim through, scold scold, fly fly. In this way an intensified /60/ action is indicated, which naturally cannot be reproduced in English words.

If we observe the artistic structure of the daina, we see first that in most of them the dialogue form predominates. The alternating song between two and three persons can actually be put down as typical. It is a genuine characteristic of the folk song (cf. the examples already given).

533 A further peculiarity of the Lithuanian folk song, which incidentally, we find also in Esthonian and Finiish songs, (33) lies in the fact that the same

33. A. Niemi, op. cit., p. 28.

idea is often treated from the standpoint of several characters who appear. Here we have the so-called repetitive songs, whose form is very simple and primitive. Typically Lithuanian are those repetitive songs that treat the theme in a parallel manner applied to the girl and the boy:

Now I will sing a song, a little song,
A youth who loves to sing,
Open the little chest of songs,
Let go the songs today.

Stone has no blood, water no wings,
The fern no blossoms,
I am a youth, I am a boy,
No maid is my own.

I shall sell the horse and the saddle,
Hire a weaver, etc.

. . .

Now I will sing a song, a little song,
A maid who loves to sing,
Open the little chest of songs,
Let go the songs today.

/61/ Stone has no blood, water no wings,
The fern no blossoms,
I am a maid, plagued by work,
No youth is my own.

I shall sell the ring and the garland,
Hire a plowman, etc. (34)

34. S. Stanewicz, op. cit., No. 1, pp. 7-8.

533 This song is especially fascinating because we recognize in it a further expressive form of the daina, the metaphor, the application of a concrete picture to the spiritual. Especially the older dainos are rich in such pictures. There is the fir tree, "the little daughter of the forest," the "golden dew" falls, the maid puts the annoying suitor's "words in her pocket," etc. It says in one song:

Where the head sank, there bloomed a rose,
Where the blood dropped, shone pearls. (35)

35. Ibid., No. XXIV, p. 54.

With this higher type of comparison that is employed here we have passed over an artistic means of expression to whose employment the daina owes part of its most beautiful effects. This is the opposition of two different motifs, of which one is taken from human life, the other from nature:

The leaves of the trees are falling,
The apples are falling,
Bitter tears are falling.

We find this so-called parallelism in the most varied applications, in simple, complex, and also in negative form:

Did the north wind storm?
The river overflow?
Did Perkunas thunder?
The lightning flash?

The north wind did not blow,
The river did not overflow,
Perkunas did not strike
Thundering with lightning.

/62/ Bearded men,
Men of the seas,
Climbed the bank,
Climbed up to the garden.

Trampled the rues,
Tore apart the roses,
Scattered the lilies,
Down flowed the dew. (36)

36. Cf. the Lithuanian text in Rhesa, op. cit., No. 28, p. 95.

In oppositions of this type man and his fate still form a unity with the reality of nature that surrounds him. The natural phenomen themselves catch the ~~human life~~ as in a mirror or are opposed to it and thus enhance the consciousness of its own fate: the cuckoo laments in the forest--the maid weeps in the klete [house], the horse of the youth neighs--the youth is full of joy, the cold wind reddens the face--the evil words of men make it still redder. These correspondences are countless. Frequently they find their resolution in direct comparison:

My sister weeps
In the colorful klėtis
Just as the cuckoo
Calls in the forest.

On comparisons in Lithuanian songs taken from the realm of nature we possess a fine work by the Dutchman Dr. R. von der Meulen. (37) He

[113] 37. Dr. R. von der Meulen, Die Naturvergleiche in den Liedern und Totenklagen der Litauer (Leiden, 1907).

shows us in an abundance of examples how to the popular poet the images of nature that surrounds

533 him become a symbol of human life and thereby obtain their real meaning in the Lithuanian folk song. Thus result thousandfold relations between fate and surroundings. They are tied to images and comparisons that often become stereotyped, just as the already mentioned ornamental adjectives. If now the idea of a specific human experience is represented each time by a specific image, the presentation of the experience itself finally becomes superfluous. But with this the daina takes the last step toward the detachment of human occurrence from reality and reaches its highest possibility of expression in pure symbolism.

/63/ As B. Sruoga, who investigated the symbolism in Lithuanian folk poetry in greatest detail, writes, (38) symbolic representation as a poetic device is known to probably all Aryan peoples. While, however, among most of the peoples this symbolism has today become faded and incomprehensible, in Lithuanian folk songs it has been preserved in all its primitive tenacity up to the present day. Its borders are fluid; i.e. one symbol may express various ideas according to the context, and on the other hand, various symbols may serve for the representation of one and the same idea. The call of the cuckoo is the symbolic expression for the weeping mother, as also for the sorrowing orphan or the ravished maid. Conversely we find as symbol for the youth the woodpecker, the falcon, the birch tree, etc. If the falcon alights on a tree, it signifies that the youth is wooing a maid. If he breaks the branches of the tree and flies away, he has dishonored the maid. Thus the tree becomes a symbol of a person, its leaves are words, the dew signifies tears. The withering tree is the symbol of dying and death,

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[113] 38. Cf. for the following the chapter "Symbolism" in B. Sruoga, op. cit., pp. 92-115.

533 the sprouting tree of the first love of a maid. A tree and under it a spring signifies mother and daughter. A great number of symbols is connected with the garland of rue and the rue itself, the magical favorite flower of the Lithuanians. The garland is the symbol of virginity; the dew that falls on the garland is an evil omen, and there remains nothing to do but to hang it on a nail or lock it up in a chest. Also a north wind (the youth) can blow up, tear off the garland, and drown it in the sea. The ring corresponds to the garland. If a maid loses her garland, her ring rusts, or it falls from her finger and is lost. In more recent songs, on the other hand, the ring has acquired its later significance as the sign of betrothal. It is noteworthy that the symbol corresponding to the garland of rue is represented for boys /64/ by the cap. It, too, becomes wet from the dew, falls in the dirt, and is lost, and the boy asks:

Oh give it, whoever has found it,
And do not put me to shame,
Nor my dear maid. (39)

39. L. Rhesa, op. cit., p. 51.

Naturally the horse, too, which plays a great role in the folk song as a loyal companion of the youth, is frequently only to be understood symbolically. If the boy has obtained his own horse, he is able to ride to the maid to court her. If the horse refuses to drink, he has not reached his beloved. If it stumbles, this is an evil omen. If the maid lets the horse graze in the rue garden, this means she is very fond of the youth, for it the horse tramples the green rue, she belongs to him. She should not feed the horse, for it may happen that she will mix her garland in with the oats. If the horse neighs outside, the maid should

533 not follow if she wants to avoid shame:

You should not go
So late before the gate,
You should not listen
When the horse neighs. . .

If, however, the maid does not obey, it can happen that soon she carries in her hands a little falcon, i.e. a child, and her brother reproaches her for having gone out, for otherwise:

You would not carry
The falcon in your hands,
You would carry only
Your golden ring. (40)

[113] 40. J. Simtakojis, Trakiečių dzūkų dainos (Songs of the Traker Dzukes), (Shenadoah, 1899), p. XX.

It is impossible/Unnumbered page with illustration--"Kubilas," Folk Dance/ /65/ in this space to treat with even approximate completeness the abundance of living symbols which in all their simplicity constitute the most intimate charm of these songs and lead from light humor to deepest seriousness and tragedy. Their poetic value and their special meaning for the Lithuanian folk songs lies in the fact that they give the poets the possibility of rising from everyday reality into another level of experience and thereby completing the transition into that world of the ideal and beautiful in which the yearning of the Lithuanian daina finds its strongest expression. As every genuine national art, however, reaches out beyond its own country and becomes the common property of art, the Lithuanian folk song, too, has found scientific and artistic recognition outside of the boundaries set by language and culture.

000 That it was primarily German poets and scholars who concerned themselves in detail with Lithuanian folk poetry is explained on the one hand by the close relation of the two peoples, on the other hand by the influence which the romanticism of the eighteenth century exercised on German poetry. Thus one can rightly speak of a Lithuanian contribution to German spiritual life.

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## 5. The Lithuanian Folk Song in German Poetry

[14] Around the end of the seventeenth century we hear for the first time from German sources details concerning Lithuanian folk poetry. Around the year 1690 Theodor Lepner, one time pastor in Ragnit, wrote his notable little book: Der Preusche Litauer. It was dedicated to the Electoress Sophie-Charlotte and appeared in 1744 in Danzig. The book is of special cultural-historical interest because Lepner, who in general--this may be added--did not at all esteem the Lithuanians, gives a quite drastic picture of Lithuanian folk customs. 534 He writes: "They have a peculiar type of trumpet or trombone which they call truba. This is made out of fir, with a hollow at the end, fairly /66/ wide and round like a trombone, on the outside tightly wound around with birch bark, over a fathom long. Two kerdels blow on such trombones at the same time, which makes quite a noise. Otherwise they have what the Germans call pig's head (kanklis --a type of zither), strung with nine or twelve brass strings, the drum, the fife and other flutes, a fiddle, and a bass iron; this only they buy at the store, the other pieces mentioned they all make themselves. Such artists are they!

"They are also all composers who give the melodies to their songs themselves, although they have also learned some from the Germans. They are inclined by nature to singing, and are thus fine musici naturales who brought with them into the

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world the inclination to sing; now there arises from the women and girls at their banquets such howling and humming that one must stop one's ears from it. The kerdels are not especially fond of this science, but only the women and girls, who from morning, from the second cock crow on, until it gets light, make music at the hand mill, since the humming of the mill serves them as it were as a ground bass.

"The material of their songs are love songs, but they are concerned also with such things as just happen to occur to them and stand before their eyes. A few of them also sing spiritual songs at the hand mill, which happens at their banquets in drinking bouts of men and women, concerning which Wilhelmus Martinus, onetime pastor in Mummel, reports cleverly in his Latin poem of praise concerning the Lithuanian song book, which I thus give in /English/:

> Lithuanian people, you are, I think, called thus
> After a field trumpet, as it is called in Greek:
> Your heart burns naturally for sound, song, rime;
> You drive your merry cattle, that tears itself from the stall,
> Out to the pasture in singing, you shout in walking, in plowing,
> /67/ With untiring voice. On your wedding day,
> At baptism and other assemblies, at home and in the taverns,
> You sing of all that which may be known to you."

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A few years after Lepner wrote his little book there appeared a book by Johann Arnold von

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Brand, professor in Duisburg (died 1691): Reysen durch die Marck Brandenburg, Preussen, Churland, Liefland, Plesscovien, Gross-Naugardten, Tweerien und Moscovien. In this book, which was published in 1702 at Wesel by Heinrich Christian vor Hennin, Brand reproduces two fragments of Lithuanian folk songs.

The first fragment, which he describes as "The usual drinking song of the Lithuanians," reads (p. 107):

Let us then, y heisa viva y,
Be merry, y heisa viva y.

The second, "Lament to the Unfaithful Betrothed," reads (p. 108):

Did you not love me?
I cut with you the rye,
I raked with you the hay,
I bound with you the oats.

From that year dates the interest with which German scholars and poets devoted themselves to Lithuanian folk poetry. In 1745 Philipp Ruhig, pastor in Walterkehmen, in his Betrachtungen der litauischen Sprache, published three folk songs, of which one is found in the later collection of Daukantas while another has become known from various anthologies. Ruhig reproduces the texts of these songs solely for linguistic reasons and even apologizes to his readers for claiming their attention with such vanities.

/68/ The translations of Ruhig are interesting inasmuch as they show the abundance of diminutives, so characteristic of the Lithuanian language, although the author obviously had not yet solved the problem of their translation into the German language. Thus the first of the dainos begins with the words:[1]

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 77 -- Analyst]

Früh Morgens am Morgelein
Ging das Sonnlein auf,
Und unter dem Glasfensterlein
Sass das Mütterlein.

Ich wollt dich fragen, Töchterlein,
Wo bist du herumgegangen?
Und wo hat dein Kränzlein
Das Nebelein befallen?

etc.

The beginnings of the other two dainos are as follows: "Ich hatte ein Rösslein"--and: "Ich hab aufgesagt meinem Mütterlein schon vor der Hälfte des Sommerleins."

In spite of the translations, which are incongruous with the nature of the German language, Lessing comprehended intuitively the beauty of these Lithuanian folk songs hidden behind the veil of the un-German translations, when he wrote in 1757 in his often quoted 35th Literaturbrief: "It has not been long since I leafed through Ruhig's Lithuanian dictionary and at the end of the preliminary remarks on this language came upon a pertinent rarity that gave me infinite pleasure. Namely some Lithuanian "dainos" or songs, as they are sung there by the ordinary girls. What naive wit! What charming simplicity! One can learn from them that under every stretch of heaven poets are born, and that vivid experiences are no prerogative of cultivated peoples." How strongly Lessing experienced the poetic magic of these simple poems appears from his words: "The pious man (Ruhig) apologizes /69/ for introducing such vanities; he might have apologized to me for not introducing more of them."

The songs made a still stronger impression on Herder, who had already occupied himself with that folk poetry in Riga in his younger years.(41)In

533 [113] 41. The comments of Herder concerning the Lithuanian folk song are found in the "Fragmente über die neue deutsche Literatur" and in his essay "Über Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker." In a letter to Hamann of June 18, 1775 he tells the latter that he has read four beautiful Lithuanian songs by Kreutzfeld. "They should be in my folk songs, certainly; oh that he had more!" Cf. further Herder's Werke (Bong, Stuttgart), Part V, "Ideen zur Philosophie der Menschheit," Vol. II, p. 16; and the notes of Ernst Naumann to his "Litauische Volkslieder." On the translations of Kreutzfeld cf. further Müller-Blattau, Hamann und Herder in ihren Beziehungen zur Musik (Königsberg, 1931), p. 21.

his work Stimmen der Völker in Liedern in 1779 he recorded eight Lithuanian folk songs. The translation used by Herder was done by Prof. Kreutzfeld in Königsberg, who later also published under his own name two songs with German translations, "Gesang am Brautabend" and "Gesang bei der Heimführung" (Preussischer Tempel (1788), pp. 12-15). Through Herder Goethe was influenced; he has his lyric drama "Die Fischerin" begin with the third of the dainos of Ruhig, something that is not generally known:

> Ich habs gesagt schon meiner Mutter,
> Schon aufgesagt vor Sommers Mitte. . .

The other of the two dainos of Ruhig cited by Lessing (a daughter has accompanied her beloved) has been set to music by Schumann. (42)

113 42. On the influence of the Lithuanian folk songs on Goethe cf. the excellent essay of Dr. Erich Jenisch: "Goethe und die Dainos," Ostdeutsche Monatshefte (1930), Vol. II,

113 No. 7, pp. 417-422. Also to be mentioned are Antana Domeikaitē, Die litauischen Volkslieder in der deutschen Literatur (Munich, 1928) (Dissertation); and Ignas Skrupskelis, Die Litauer in der deutschen Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts (Vienna, 1932) (Dissertation).

533 Thus Lithuanian folk song gradually gained an entrance into German literature, not, to be sure, in the translations of Ruhig but in the poetic imitations of Herder. It may be added that the ideas of the dainos reproduced by Lessing were repeatedly employed from then on among the German poets from Schiller to Baumbach. (43)

[113] 43. F. and H. Tetzner, Dainos, Litauische Volksgesänge, Reclaims Universalbibliothek, No. 3 694, p. 30. (A good historical study concerning the Lithuanian folk song with 70 rimed translations.)

The man whose work pioneered all Lithuanian studies and who also gave the German people the first collection of dainos--Ludwig Rhesa--came into contact with Goethe in the course of this development. Born in the village of Karweiten which is now in ruins, on the Nehrung of Courland, Rhesa was not only a scholar, not only professor of theology in Königsberg, but also a gifted poet. Courlandic and Lithuanian were /70/ his native languages, but he was also intimately familiar with German. We are thus indebted to him for the most beautiful translations of Lithuanian folk songs in all of German literature. Goethe himself wrote a long essay on this work, and his manuscript, which the poet sent him, is found still today in the Goethe archive in Weimar. Goethe begins his essay with the words: "Through this collection another one of my wishes has been

533 fulfilled. Herder loved the Lettish folk songs very much: in my little drama Die Fischerin several of his translations have been taken over. Moreover for several years now I have had in my possession a sizeable collection of well-translated poems, which I let sit, like so many other things, in expectation of what is happening now."

Of the Rhesa translations Goethe says that they are "estimable," and he wishes only for a different arrangement. He closes with the words: "And thus these songs are to be regarded as having proceeded directly from the people, who are much closer to nature, and thus also to poetry, than the educated world." A further discussion of the [113] Rhesa collection from the Jakob Grimm (Göttinger Anzeigen, 1826, No. 104).

After the Lithuanian folk song, favored by the current of romanticism, had penetrated German poetry in the first half of the last century, it is no wonder that the Berlin circle of poets, above all Adalbert von Chamisso, also interested themselves in the dainos. German literature is indebted to Chamisso for a number of beautiful poems which are based on Lithuanian folksongs. They originated in the years 1826-1828 and are still familiar today to every German with a literary education. From Chamisso comes also the pretty translation of the "Sparrow Hunt":

The father went hunting in the forest;
He soon saw some good game.

/71/ He took good aim, he pulled the trigger,
The sparrow fell on the soft moss.

The brothers loaded the catch on the sled,
And hauled it home and rejoiced long.

The daughters quickly stirred up the fire,
They plucked and singed it, as is proper.

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The mother roasted and cooked it at once,
The roast was delicious and tasty and tender.

Zealously the sisters served it,
Many joyous guests came together.

They sat down at the table and sat there firmly,
And enjoyed themselves at the hearty feast.

They ate the sparrow at their leisure
And drank three barrels of beer with it. (44)

44. A. V. Chamisso, op. cit., p. 138.

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Chamisso's friend, Franz von Gaudy, adapted in 1844 a Lithuanian folk saga, "Die Pestjungfrau," into the German language, and Wilhelm Jordan published in the same year his Littauische Volkslieder und Sagen, which are strongly influenced by Rhesa. A large number of Lithuanian folk songs with melodies and German translations by H. Budrius, Ed. Gisevius, and P. von Bohlen were published in the N. Pr. Prov. Blätter, appearing since 1846. Of German poets then known but today forgotten, who were inspired by the Lithuanian folk poetry, Daumer (1800-1875) and J. F. Soldat may be mentioned. Also to be mentioned is Felix Dahn, whose poem of 1870, "Die Litauer in Frankreich," breathes a genuine Lithuanian mood.

Even this short survey of the influence of Lithuanian folk poetry on German poetry shows well enough that the Lithuanian contribution to the German spiritual /72/ life of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the area of poetry is not unimportant. The first scientific-critical translation of Lithuanian folk songs in the meter

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of the original stems from Nesselman. In spite of the purely scientific purpose of his work, he also succeeded with a few poetically excellent translations (cf. on this point also the end of this chapter). The influence of the Lithuanian folk song appears also in the writings of A. K. T. Tielos: Thanatos (1905), Klänge aus Litauen (1911), Aus der Jugendzeit (1911). W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck published Litauische Heide-Lieder und Dainos.

The World War, which brought a number of German poets in uniform into direct contact with the Lithuanian people, aroused anew the interest in the Lithuanian folk song in a number of German poets. Only Oskar Wöhrle, Herbert Eulenberg, and Richard Dehmel may be mentioned. (45) In the German press of those years, too, the great interest which the Lithuanian folk songs found in the broadest German circles is reflected. Unfortunately most of this interest vanished just as quickly as it had sprung up. Only in the most recent time can a slight reawakening be noticed. (46)

[113] 45. The translations of O. Wöhrle are printed in Das Litauenbuch, Eine Auslese aus der Zeitung der X. Armee (1918), pp. 155-159. The poetic imitations of Richard Dehmel, based on the translations of Nesselmann and not always successful, are published in Die neue Rundschau, Vol XXVIII of the Freie Bühne, No. 1, January, 1917. For Herbert Eulenberg cf. Struck und Eulenberg, Skizzen aus Litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland (1916).

113 46. From the abundance of mostly popular literature on the Lithuanian folk song, a few essays may be mentioned which appeared

113 in the periodical Das Neue Litauen in 1917-18: Tetzner, "Tolminkemer Erinnerungstage" (1917), No. 5/6. Alfred Brust, "Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus" (1918), No. 1. Victor Jungfer, "Die Raubehe im litauischen Volksliede" (1918), No. 15/16/ W. W. Ulmenried-Naujeck, "Zur litauischen Literatur" (1918), No. 18/19. In addition reference may be made to the same issues of the years of the Zeitung der X. Armee, published at that period, in whose literary supplement were contained a number of really valuable contributions to the research on Lithuanian folk songs and their melodies. For the most recent period cf. Möller, Das Lied der Völker (No. 13 on the Lithuanian folk song) (Leipzig, 1930); and H. Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung, Deutsche Nachdichtungen (Kaunas, 1935), 1st. ed.; (1938), 2nd ed.

533 B. Prose Writing

*538 1. The Raudos (Lamentations for the Dead)

764 Between the daina and the prose writing of the people, as it found its expression in sagas, fairy tales, and other creations, stand the Lithuanian lamentations for the dead, or raudos. They are the oldest creations of Lithuanian folk literature that are mentioned in the chronicles. Thus /73/ Kojalowicz reports that the heroic death of those 300 Lithuanians who, in 1362, at the conquest of the fortress of Kaunas by Winrich of Kniprode, threw themselves into the flames of the burning castle was celebrated by the people in songs of sorrow (vulgaribus naeniis populus decantabat). (47) According to Strykowski a priest

47. F. and H. Tetzner, op. cit., p. 5.

sang for their dead at the funerals of princes.

533 538 764 Evidently these brief indications, to which our knowledge of the earliest period is limited, refer not to the folk song, but to the raudos, which are often mentioned also in a later period. Although each rauda has its own melody, they do not represent real songs for the dead, but have the form of a lamentation for the dead. The older raudos have no metrical character, but are in language and form rather to be compared with a type of rhythmically elevated prose. Their melodies were of sorrowful monotony. Old women sang them for remuneration at burials. Through them one wished to appease the ghosts of the dead, in whose continued existence one firmly believed, so that they would not return to the house as evil demons of [79] revenge and spread pestilence and disease. Thus these lamentations for the dead represent the superstitious result of that primitive belief in ghosts and demons which particularly illustrated the mental attitude of the Lithuanian people and still lives today in remote villages of the country.

In content the raudos differ from each other only little. The good deeds of the deceased are remembered, and the sorrow at the departure of father, mother, husband, brother, or sister is expressed, often in an infinitely tender and moving manner. As Chr. Bartsch has already pointed out, there is not one among the genuinely popular raudos that would be spoken by a man for a man or even for his wife. "Everywhere it is women (and girls) who speak." The wife as such is not mentioned. (48) At times the lamentation of the relatives and friends of the deceased, who follow the coffin, has such a staggering

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[113] 48. Chr. Bartsch, "Über litauische Volksliteratur," Mitteilungen der litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, Vol. II (1884), Tilsit, p. 100.

533 effect that even the priest, from inner /74/
*538 emotion and pity, is not able to complete the
764 sacred rites at the grave without tears.

Formally the more recent raudos differ from the older ones in their strophic arrangement: out of the old lamentation has grown a song with rauda motifs. In this form the raudos have been preserved till the present day in the province of Drūkija. (49) In order to give a rough idea of the nature of the old raudos, I reproduce below a few of these lamentations, taken from the great song collection of A. Juškevičius.

### Lament for the Mother

Little mother, you who took care of me, oh my little mother; I thank your dear hands, with which you brought me up from childhood; I thank your feet, on which you carried me, your wisdom in teaching me well; I thank your little mouth, that talked sweetly with me.

Who will now talk so sweetly with me, who teach me so well? Little mother, who will protect me when I have a complaint? With whom shall I speak? The cuckoo in the forest will stop calling, but I shall never stop.

Little mother, you do not breathe; little mother you do not sigh; say but one word and com-

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[113] 49. Akiras Birzys, Lietuvos miestai ir miesteliai /Lithuania's Cities and Towns/, Vol. I, Alytaus apskritis, Dzuku krastas /The District of Alytus, the Province of the Dzulijans/ (Kaunas, 1931), p. 397. The most important collection of Lithuanian lamentations for the dead is that published by Dr. J. Basanavičius, "Lietūvių Tauta (Vilna, 1926), Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 59-145.

533 fort my sorrowing heart. The whole night I talked
*533 to you; with my little mother I did not talk
764 (i.e. received no answer).

Oh little mother, little cherry, oh my little mother, you wanderer. Oh, my little mother makes a home of little white boards, the little windows without glass, without a door. You will not see the rising sun nor its setting.

The last time, the last little hour, we talked together. Oh, if I could awaken my little mother!

/75/ Oh, when will you come to us and when visit us? Whence shall I expect you; in which little corner shall I meet you? Little mother, day and night have I wandered; I shall never find you.

### Lament for the Son

My little son, you forsaken one, my little son, my garland of rue, my little son, you little golden ring, my little son, the days of my youth!

Oh, my little son, the days of my youth I buried, oh, the days of my youth I have no more, no more, my little son.

Oh, my little son, my whole dowry, all that I have. How shall I forget you, my little son, and the days of my youth?

Oh, my little son, so short was your life--leave me still a little room.

### Lament for the Father

Oh, my dear father, who had such a short life, oh, my dear father, who had such cares--you earned your home of little white boards, of gray earth your home. How hard you obtained it--will you bear the gray earth?

533 Oh, dear father, you who provided for me, oh dear
*598 father, you who protected me, to whom shall I
764 bring my complaints, with whom shall I talk?

You my little father, the sun sets--I cannot converse, I cannot talk with my father.

Dear father, little father, my pride, my little father, you wanderer.

/76/ Oh my little father is still, oh my little father breathes no more, oh, my little father does not call me, he does not ask me.

Oh, my little father now has his place of rest.
You my little father, bless me.
Oh, perhaps I have bitterly displeased my father, that he no longer speaks with me.
Little father, the sun sets--oh, they lay my father inside the hill. My little father, how will you like it there?
Oh, your home is without a door, without a little glass window.
Oh, where should we seek for you, where shall we find you?
Oh, although I go over all roads and paths, through all forests, my father I shall no longer meet.
Little father, who will talk with me, who open the door for me?
Oh, little father, we will go over the roads which you travelled--there we shall cry.

## Lament for the Daughter

Oh, my little daughter, my spinner, my weaver, support for my feet and hands.
What were you afraid of, the hard times or the hard work? It was not necessary to be afraid, I would have taught you; the work is not hard, even if the times are hard; everything fell on

533 your father and mother; you would not have had to
538 worry about anything.
764 My ghostly bride, my clear ice crystal, companion of the high mountain, in which flowers will you come up, in which leaves will you turn green? When I in passing look to the side, which flowers will you make grow? How will I recognize you, in the leaves or in the flowers?

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## /77/ 2. Fairy Tales and Sagas

The belief in a lasting connection of the departed souls with the living, as indicated in the raudos, deeply influenced the Lithuanian people for centuries. The strong mystical trait in the spirutual life of the Lithuanian maintained this belief the more strongly since as late as the sixteenth century Lithuania was a completely pagan country, whose superficial Christianization had scarcely touched the consciousness of the people itself. Thus, too, the abundance of superstitious motifs which we still find in Lithuania today grew in the soil of an ancient popular religion. They frequently are mixed with quite modern ideas. Their expression, however, is found in a rich world of fairy tales and sagas which only today has been partially investigated, and which in any case differs from the Western type in that it has not yet been transferred from the reality of experience to the cemetery of literary history. The abundance of fairy tales at the disposal of the Lithuanian people is so great that the existing collections can give only a weak picture of it.

Among all peoples the fairy tale stands at the beginning of every literary creation; it affords us a glimpse into the childhood years of humanity. The motifs of the fairy tales themselves wander; many of them stem from the Orient and from India (Benfey). Unfortunately the following brief characterization of the Lithuanian popular fairy tale can, because of the scope of this work, *538 be limited only to mentioning a few particularly important features. The Lithuanian popular fairy tale contains neither the fullness and extravagance of the Indian nor the shining brilliance of the Arabian fairy tale. The poverty in the external living conditions of the people, the economy in the means of expression of its language, and also the lack of a literature that for its part could have reacted again on the popular fairy tale--all these factors give the Lithuanian fairy tale a characteristic note. To be sure, from the printed collections one usually does not gain the correct /78/ picture, since the recorders usually reproduce the fairy tale told to them only according to its content, in their own, and frequently quite dry, words. Only the use of the phonograph makes it possible today to record the fairy tales just as they are recited by the story tellers in the villages. (50) The endings of the fairy tales

113 50. The most important Lithuanian fairy tale collections are the following: Aug. Schleicher, Litauische Märchen, Sprichwörter, Rätsel und Lieder (1857) (more philological). A. Leskien and K. Brugmann, Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen aus dem preussischen und dem russischen Litauen (Strassburg, 1882). (This highly valuable collection contains among other things 249 (untranslated) folk songs and 47 fairy tales translated into German with commentary by Wilhelm Wollner.) Dr. J. Basanavičius, Yvairios Lietuviškos Pasakos (Miscellaneous Lithuanian Fairy Tales), 4 vols., 4th ed. (Kaunas, 1928). By the same author, Iš gyvenimo lietuviškų vēlių bei velnių (From the Life of the Lithuanian Souls and Evil Spirits) (Chicago, 1903). (Contains 198 folk tales as well as a detailed investigation of the Lithuanian

113 cult of the dead with extensive references.) For the Lithuanian animal story cf. Pasakos apie paukščius, Zemaitische Tierfabeln, Text, vocabulary, and translation, edited by Hugo Scheu and Alexander Kurschat (Heidelberg, 1913). The most accessible collection of Lithuanian fairy tales in German translation is the Lettisch-litauische Volksmärchen published by H. Boehm and F. Specht in 1924 at Diederich's. (For the current fairy tale research cf. Chapter Two, 5 of the present book.)

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538 are often surprising, as, for example, I have reproduced them at the end of my description of the Lithuanian wedding customs and as they variously appear also as endings in the published fairy tale collections. (51) "The celebration

[113] 51. V. Jongfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern (Königsberg, 1932), p. 91. Boehm and Specht, op. cit., Nos. 8 and 13, as well as Introduction, p. 158.

lasted long, and I was present too. I ate and drank together with all the guests, for I was cook. When I wanted to go home, the gentleman gave me a wagon of straw, a mare of wax, a hat of butter, clothing of paper, and boots of glass. When I rode through the city, the goats of the Jews fell upon me and ate up my wagon. I sat upon my horse in order to ride. My behind became warm and the mare melted from it. Then came rain that licked off my clothing, and I began to be cold. I went into a tavern in order to warm myself. My hat then melted, and only my boots remained. But when I went over the iron bridge in Tilsit, they broke in two and I had nothing more. And as I had nothing, so I have nothing even now."

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7: Jungfer-91 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

Professor Specht, in the introduction to his Litauische Märchen, seeks the source of these closing sentences in the Russian fairy tale literature, in which they frequently appeared, and stresses quite generally the special difficulty of recognizing the typically Lithuanian elements in this fairy tale world. Since in Lithuania the Eastern European and the Western European cultural areas intersect, the country had from olden times been subjected to numerous foreign spiritual influences. "One never quite knows whether a Lithuanian fairy tale is not simply the reproduction of a Slavic fairy tale, or whether stories from Prussian Lithuania, as a result of the German schooling, are not German fairy tales in the Lithuanian language."

/79/ The stream which has influenced through the centuries the world of fairy tales of the European peoples, and thus also of the Lithuanians, has been fed by many sources. We know today that every popular fairy tale represents a complicated structure that consists of a number of simple motifs pieced together, which travel through the world. Among the motifs each has a firm place in a specific type of fairy tale, from which it is transferred only occasionally into another. It is not the form, therefore, in which a fairy tale is told today that represents something ancient; but its individual parts hark back to gray antiquity. The intricate form, however, in which they are offered to us teaches us the laws of the popular taste and remains essentially the property of the people that created it.

It is a self-evident fact that the Lithuanian popular fairy tale, too, contains a large number of very old motifs. We may think of the brother story, for example, which, stemming from Egyptian antiquity, is probably familiar to all peoples. Its content is about as follows: two brothers wander about in the world. They separate, and

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538 each promises to come to the help of the other in
177 case of danger. A token may be a plant that withers, a knife that rusts, or--in the Lithuanian tale--a cup that turns around by itself. From the Orient stems the motif of the good advice, which penetrated into the Latinliterature of the Middle Ages and seems from there to have come also to Lithuania; further the famous fairy tale motif of the singing tree and the speaking bird. The tale of the water of life, too, was told tens of centuries ago in Babylon. The ideas of the appearances and the wanderings of souls, connected with the world of dreams, exhibit great similarities among all peoples. In the Lithuanian tale the soul slips out of the mouth of the sleeper as a mouse and experiences that which the person later perceives as a dream. There is also a parallel to the miraculous rescue of Moses. Through a /80/ benevolent fate children escape all dangers and become mighty rulers, as was prophesied to them.

Especially interesting are the connections with the Greek fairy tales. We may remember, for example, the dream story of the lost wife, as told by Apuleius in his Amor and Psyche. The motif of the jealous sisters and the insoluble tasks was also already known to the Greeks. Furthermore, the animal stories with their transformations of men into animals were especially loved in Greece. Such transformations into wolves, bears, eagles, doves, and other animals, too, play a great role in the Lithuanian fairy tales. Also, the tale of lies, which is often found, is of Greek and Roman origin. It was brought to Germany by minstrels in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Latin dress. Often the piling up of impossibilities becomes the introductory formula of the fairy tales, as it is favored in the Hungarian and Turkish fairy tales of today. "Once upon a time there was, or there was not; there was in ancient times; when one still sifted into

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538 177 straw; when the camel was still a horse trader, the mouse a barber, the cuckoo a taylor, the donkey a servant, and the turtle a baker; then I was only 15 years old and already rocked my father in the cradle; then it was. . ." (52) etc., etc. If we compare, for example, this formula with the introduction of the humorous court judgment concerning the matchmaker at the Lithuanian wedding, we find a surprising similarity: "In a year, in that one, in this one, when the cats slew the dogs, the hares beat the drum, the wolves blew the horn, the dogs crowed, the cocks barked, the roe danced with the mouse, the fish flew, the old women sheared the calves, the girls did not want to marry, the boys no longer loved them, when it snowed buns, the children did not sleep the whole night--then a wolf heard this noise. . ."etc. (53) The tale of lies shows us the joy in exaggerations which is often grotesquely elaborated. Closely related to them are the Schwänke and Narrenstreiche [Funny tales and Fool's pranks] which /Unnumbered page with illustration--Sun Cross/ /81/ were eagerly told in the German popular fairy tale of the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries, the stories of Brother Lustig, the wanderings of Christ and his disciples, as well as the countless stories of the swindled devil. Not a few parallels to all these fairy tales are found also in Lithuania; the devil story especially found here a receptive soil and seems to have developed further independently. The medieval heroic stories, too, such as were spread by the court poetry in France

[113] 52. F. von der Leyen, Das Märchen (Leipzig, 1911), p. 80.

[113] 53. M. Valančius, Palangos Juzē (Josef of Palanga) (Vilna, 1906), 5th ed., p. 121.

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[177] and Germany, had their influence on the Lithuanian popular fairy tale. Here belong primarily the tales of monsters and giants who steal beautiful women, of subterranean palaces, enchanted forests and mountains, and similar motifs. Thus we see that the Lithuanian fairy tale, as it is told today, has been enriched through many centuries by material and motifs taken over from the outside and worked into something of its own--just like the German fairy tale, by which it was in turn often enriched. But although, as we saw, the fairy tale motifs in themselves are not characteristic of the fairy tale world of a people, since it is not difficult to find corresponding parallels, the significance of individual motifs within the whole store of fairytales of particular peoples is undeniably varied. The Lithuanian popular fairy tale is, for example, so strongly ruled by the belief in ghosts and demons that a whole large collection of tales could be put together by Dr. Basanavičius from this angle alone. As, however, no phenomenon of popular life rests on accident, but can always be explained from the history of the people concerned, we must attribute this peculiarity to the belief in the dead and immortality mentioned at the beginning, which for historical reasons has been preserved in Lithuania and found its expression with particular tenacity and has there.

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776 Furthermore, we probably find everywhere the belief in witches, in good and bad fairies, but in the framework of the Lithuanian world of fairy tales special importance is attached to the laumas /Laumen/. The laumas are mostly evil spirits, who /82/ always show themselves in the form of women. They torture people at night in nightmares, steal or exchange newborn children, play all kinds of tricks, and practice their mischief primarily on Thursday evening. For that reason one may never spin on that evening, for then the laumas spin on during

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the night and take with them what was spun. They aid people, but frequently attach this aid to some unfulfillable condition, so that much harm results from it. At times they help also forsaken people and especially children; they also enter into marriage with mortals. They show themselves then usually as good housewives, until upon some imprudence on the part of the husband they suddenly disappear, but still return regularly, invisible, to care for their abandoned children. Just as alive today in the Lithuanian people as the lauma tales are the tales of the aitvaras, a winged dragon who brings grain to the houses of the farmers and makes them rich. The aitvaras motif has brought forth a whole literature, since it also plays a great role in the fairy tales of the other Baltic peoples (Lettish: pukkis, Esthonian: puuk, together with other terms. (54)).

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54. A. Bezzenberger, Litauische Forschungen, op. cit., pp. 61-64. Krėvė-Mickevičius, "Aitvaras dzukų legendose" (The Aitvaras in the Legends of the Dukijans), Mūsų Tautosaka, Vol. III, pp. 3-81. (16 tales.) By the same author, Aitvaras liaudies padavimuose. (The Aitvaras in Popular Tradition) (Kaunas, 1933). Dr. J. Balys, "Aitvaras," in the periodical Gimtasai Kraštas, 1934, Nos. 1 and 2, where also the whole scholarly literature on this motif is given.

The aitvaras, which in Samogitian is known under the name kaukas, flies howling through the air, primarily at night, in the form of a fiery serpent and usually disappears in the chimney of the farmer to whom he brings wealth. The owner of an aitvaras is supposed to feed this demon with milk and white bread. One can buy the aitvaras among the Germans in Riga, but the motif is probably older according to which it originates from

* 538 776 an egg hatched by a black cock seven years old. The aitvaras does many services for his owner, protecting his cattle, watching over his fields, and bringing him property stolen elsewhere, which he first swallows and then spits out. This stolen property, however, brings no harm, but turns out so well that it arouses the envy of all the neighbors; still today one says of a farmer in Lithuania who has suddenly become rich that he possesses an aitvaras. One can also force the demon /83/ to drop his loot and to burn down the house of his master by letting down one's pants or taking off one's coat and showing him the naked posterior.

* 538 177 For the tale of the aitvaras, too, many parallels can be found among other, primarily Nordic, peoples; in the Slavic store of fairy tales, on the other hand, it plays only a subordinate role. Those numerous fairy tales in which a hunter with a red cap chases behind the devil go back to Lithuanian myth: it is Perkunas, who is well disposed toward people and rewards them when they help him. The ancient Lithuanian serpent cult, on the other hand, which is often atteste to from earlier centuries, has influenced the Lithuanian fairy tale only little. To be sure, it appears in one of the most beautiful and colorful tales, of "Eglē, the Queen of the Serpents"; however, Koncewicz has supplied a Russian parallel for it, so that the question of borrowing remains open. (55) The Lithuanian has a special preference

[113] 55. J. Koncewicz, "Die Natter" (Russian Fairy Tales), Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, 1885, pp. 260-262.

for animal fairy tales, which are often told in the form of an instructive fable. They betray the same sharp gift for observation of surroundings

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that we are already acquainted with from the dainos. Although it must remain undecided what part of these animal stories may stem from the Panchatantra, from Phaedrus, Aesop, or even La Fontaine, what is borrowed from Germany, and what is to be regarded as primitive Aryan property, nevertheless many of these tales and fables bear an unmistakably Lithuanian coloring. As an outcome of the rural and simple living conditions of the people and the existence of a foreign upper class, peasant life in all its forms plays the principal role in Lithuanian fairy tales. The Jew as a deceived deceiver, the gipsy who trades in horses and in turn deceives the Jew, are the favorite figures of a farcical fairy tale literature. The Polish landlord (ponas), the master of the peasant, is also always pictured as the defeated party; his intrigues miscarry, and often the youth succeeds through cleverness or good fortune in rising himself into this class and /84/ obtaining wealth. Under the outer shell of such tales, which frequently have a very homely form, are often hidden deep, simple truths, the wish for a just settlement of fate and the same longing for the bright and shining that permeates the Lithuanian dainos. Very seldom are spiritual and Christian materials treated in the fairy tales. They form an effective part of the world of the Lithuanian saga.

Fairy tales and sagas frequently run together in Lithuanian folk traditions. If we look at those sagas that are related to one place or one person and tend toward serious realism, we still find many things that live on in the people as independent saga tradition--memories of ancient, glorious times of miracles and of secrets woven about the castled mountains of the land (piliakalnai) and tied to the names of its cities. From such a saga tradition the Lithuanian poet Krēvē-Mickevičius created the material for the heroic

538 tales of his work on the land of Dainava. To be sure, we should not compare the number of historical sagas in Lithuania with that of the Western peoples: the imagination of the Lithuanian people found too few starting points for them in a land that is poor in old ruins, castles, walls, and other reminders of the past formed by human hands. The saga of the founding of Vilna, the saga which is based on the love of the last Jagellon king, Sigismund August, for Barbara Radziwill; the saga, finally, of the enchanted Queen Bona who waits in the castle of the Kaunas fortress with her sleeping army for the day when she will lead the kingdom to new glory; all these saga traditions obviously stem from a later period. They are connected with those great structures of the sixteenth century which must have made an overwhelming impression on the simple people who until then knew only simple wooden construction. Thus these cities and fortresses were surrounded with a rich wreath of sagas. The tale of the enchanted treasure of Trakai also belongs here. The /85/ poetic saga of Birute, on the other hand, who guarded the fire in the shrine of Perkunas at Palanga as a vestal and was elevated to the wife of King Kęstutis, goes back to reports of medieval chroniclers. The sagas that surround the Rambynas, the sacred mountain on the Memel, obviously point to pagan times.

Along with such sagas of general significance there is a large number of others that did not reach beyond the narrow circle of their origin. Just these are most alive still today. Thus there is a saga connected with almost every Lithuanian mountain crowned by a castle, telling of sunken treasures and mysterious knights. Still others are tied to those large foundling stones whom the people were at the same time unable to explain. These sagas are connected with many fairy tale elements. Thereby is closed the circle which led us from fairy tale to saga and from saga back to fairy tale, and there remains for us only the task of discussing one last area of Lithuanian folk literature, which, although somewhat off the beaten track, appears suited as no other to offer us a glimpse into a special sphere of peasant thought and peasant philosophy. This is the world of Lithuanian proverbs, sayings, and riddles.

### 3. Proverbs and Sayings

The Lithuanian people has at its disposal a large store of proverbs and sayings, which betray an observant understanding and a very healthy native wit, at times humor, at times also very sharp satire. This store of ancient, and in part homely, peasant wisdom has been handed on from generation to generation, and even today it flavors the everyday conversation in the countryside. Even the language of the educated, which has forfeited much of its flexibility and power through striving after correctness, appears here from a completely different angle. It scintillates /86/ and sparkles in images and comparisons, and behind many of its words is hidden the rogue. Terseness of expression, its greatest merit, makes to some extent a literal translation impossible. Nevertheless, enough still remains. All the images and comparisons are taken from the peasant life and often give the hearer a direct view into the life and philosophy of the people. They are centered in those factors which seem problematic to the peasant in his social life--the relations between the sexes, the family, the relation to his neighbors, the relation between master and servant. Out of this framework grows the consideration of separate problems in all their manifold variety--human destiny, God and the devil, nature and its creatures, labor, and above all the properties of human character. Naturally the moral contained in proverbs is to be taken cum grano salia, for as in all countries so in Lithu-

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538 ania two proverbs frequently say exactly the opposite. Furthermore all proverbs cannot lay claim to the same importance. Not a few represent remains of earlier opinions and customs. Others, again, rest on superstitious or magical ideas. "Then, too, one cannot always grasp the real meaning of the proverb or find its origin, since in passing from mouth to mouth, from one generation to another, it frequently becomes distorted."(56)

[113] 56. Yermoloff, Der landwirtschaftliche Volkskalender (Leipzig, 1905), p. 11.

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177 The question of the origin of the proverbs is probably even more difficult to solve: it is the highly interesting problem of their transition from the vocabulary of one people into that of another. As with the Lithuanian fairy tales, influences from the Slavic as well as the Germanic cultural worlds enter the picture. Thus a whole series of proverbs bear an unmistakenly German tinge. Others, again, may have originated among different peoples indepently, but under similar social conditions, which accounts for their similarity. With the tremendous abundance of material the investigation of these problems, only
* indicated here, /87/ must be left to specialized
538 scholars. The following proverbs are taken in
113 part from printed collections: (57) in part I.

57. V. Krēvē-Mickevičius, Patarlēs, priežodžiai ir išsireiškimai (858 Proverbs and Sayings), Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1925), Vol. III. Similarly Patarlēs ir priežodžiai (Proverbs and Sayings), so far 3 vols. (Kaunas, 1934-37). (This, up to now largest, collection of proverbs, is alphabetically arranged. Vol. I, 1-7766; Vol. II, 7767-11650; Vol. III, 11651-14177; Vol. III ends with the letter i.) For comparison: F. Seiler, Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde (Munich, 1922).

000 comparison: F. Seiler, Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde (Munich, 1922).

* heard them myself in the country:

538 For the truth you will not receive quarters for the night.

Whoever grasps the child by the hand grasps the mother by the heart.

Give to the young pig when it grunts and to the child when it cries; thus you will raise a good sow and a bad child.

Small children rend the womb, big children the heart.

Good words cost no more than bad ones.

Black hands feed the world.

God has given children, God will also give to the children.

The word flies from the mouth like a sparrow and returns like an ox.

One plows, the other sows, but who will harvest, neither of them knows.

A great thief is honored even by the lords.

Everyone will gladly count money in a strange pocket.

/88/ Who does not praise his ox at the market?

No one asks the poor man for the truth.

Want has no teeth, but it eats a man up, nevertheless.

You should not praise the day before the evening--nor the girl before the morning.

With little wings in church, with scratching little nails at home.

A woman is not a sleeve--you will not turn her.

You will not outbark the dog nor outtalk the woman.

Do not allow the pig at the potatoes nor the woman at the money.

If the woman is out of the wagon it goes more easily.

If you will marry a man, get yourself three sacks of patience.

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538 To milk a strange cow is easy, but just try to feed it.
/89/ Not he who holds the cow by the horns is happy, but he who milks it.
Who will lift the tail for the dog if he does not do it himself?
(Applies to the braggart.)
In its own yard also the cock is impudent.
Don't lead the goat into the garden--it will jump in by itself.
Before you have jumped across the river do not say "hopp!"
As fast as the gipsy to work.
Not even the nightingale will make the sparrow sing.
Even the hare would not fear the fox if he had the claws of the wolf.
A small snake kills even a large ox.
A borrowed horse falls even on a level road.
The pig stinks outside, but on the table it smells fine.
/90/ He ran away before the wolf; he fell on the bear.
Whoever wants to throw at every barking dog, needs many stones.
You will not hide a needle in a sack; you will not catch the sun in a sieve.
With a lie you will go far--but you will not get back home.
Not all at whom the dogs bark are thieves.
If you take the devil into the wagon you also have to drive him home.
Don't ask a stupid person to fish--he will only catch frogs.
One must have a long spoon if one wants to eat out of the same dish with the devil.
He prays to God, but he is holding the devil by the tail.
With the tail of the devil he burns a candle to God.
One devil does not make a hell.

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538 /91/ He who is in love, thinks that the others are blind.
An evil word is heard by everyone.
The hands of the mother are soft, but her tears heavy.
The living man is driven to the grave, but when he is dead, he is exalted to heaven.
One's own tears are bitter, other's only wet.
To a good person even the thief is a guest.
Even a small stump overthrows a large wagon.
One disaster--no disaster; two or three eat a man up.
In the winter the stove is a brother, in the summer--clay.
The autumn makes us all lords.

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### 4. Folk Riddles

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The Lithuanian riddles are on an equal plane with the proverbs and sayings in spiritual content. They, too, combine a sharp gift of observation with a great wealth of imagination, and in their brevity and conciseness belong to the /92/ most characteristic creations of a peasant culture. Like the fairy tale, the riddle leads us back into the childhood years of humanity; it contains the imprint of early thought. No less a person than Bielenstein drew from the unusual similarity of Lithuanian and Lettish riddles the conclusion "that both types of riddles originated in a period when Letts and Lithuanians still spoke one language and were one people," (58) and gives us surprising enlightenment on the mythological content of a number of riddles. In this connection we may only mention that the riddles of both peoples are characteristic of a mental

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[113] 58. 1,000 lettische Rätsel, translated and explained by A. Bielenstein (Mitau, 1881), Introduction, p. 10.

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538 524 attitude which--peculiar as it may strike the modern city dweller--we still meet in such regions of Germany as lie away from the great highways; we may think for example of the popular riddles that are still alive today in the Bavarian woods and are there given by the mother of the bride to the instructor of the bride /Brautweiser/: two long parents and many short children (a ladder). Or: there are nine maids, they all lie in a single bed, all in the middle, none at the end (a spinning wheel with nine spokes). We have here before us a stage of culture at which the peasant creates something completely out of his own mind. Thus most of what was said concerning Lithuanian proverbs and sayings applies also to the riddles. All of nature lives in them; every thing, every object is taken up, elevated into a higher sphere, and made to participate in human life. Force and boldness of comparison are often [533] surprising. Even in the dainos the pleasure of the Lithuanian in such riddles plays a part; we may think for example of the beautiful song known from Rhesa, in which the girl is sent out by her stepmother to get "winter green and summer snow." In other songs, which are composed in dialogue form, several riddles are connected with each other, whereby the question of the first strophe is followed by the solution in the second.

The following examples are taken from the collection of Krēvē-Mickevičius, who /93/ recorded them from the mouths of the people in the parishes of Alytus, Merkinē, and Kabeliai in the years 1909 to 1925. (59) [See page 105--Analyst]

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59. V. Krēvē-Mickevičius, "Tautosakos rinkinių 1, Mislēs," (Riddles), Tauta ir Zodis (Kaunas, 1928), Vol. V. The most important collection of Lithuanian popular riddles is that of K. Jurgelionis, Mislių knyga (Book of Riddles) (Chicago, 1913)(over 1,000

113 riddles). Cf. further the pertinent chapters in Schleicher and Bezzenberger, op. cit. Important for more detailed studies: R. Petsch, Das deutsche Volksrätsel (Strassburg, 1917).

538 524 It runs, it speaks, it does not stand still, and nevertheless it lies. (A river.)
Born outdoors, grown up outdoors, it comes home to sleep. (Grain.)
By day it carries bones, by night it gawks about. (A pair of shoes.)
When it cries, everyone is happy and lifts his feet. (A violin.)
There came a bird flying without wings, it sat on a tree without branches. (The snow.)
A young woman in the room, her braids outside. (A carrot.)
There stand two columns, on the columns a beehive, on the beehive an egg, on the egg a forest. (A man.)
It runs without feet, it cries without a throat. (A wagon wheel.)
An iron mare, the tail of hemp. (A sewing needle.)
/94/ Ten men fill a sack. (Fingers and mouth.)
The family eats, the table complains. (A sow.)
It has legs but it does not walk, it has feathers but it does not fly, it has straw but it does not eat, it has a soul but not always. (A bed.)
What is harder than steel? (A snout.)
I sprouted and having sprouted I grew; grown I became a girl, and from a girl a young woman; from a young woman an old one. Become old, I received eyes, and from the eyes I crawled out myself. (A poppy.)
There comes a fine gentleman with a little red jacket: drive the hens away, I am not afraid of the dogs. (An earthworm.)
Who is not humble in church? (A fly.)

7: Jungfer-106 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

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538 524 Sometimes higher than the roof, sometimes smaller than a mouse, green as grass, sweet as honey. (A pear.)
When it sings I do not hear it, when it is silent, I cannot sleep. (Fortune.)
/95/ What is more dear than father and mother? (Sleep.)
Everyone buys it but no one wants it. (A coffin.)
In the middle of the field a black pot is boiling. (An ant hill.)
The feet of stone, the trunk of wood, the cap of straw, the eyes of glass, and on the cap sits an old man and smokes a pipe. (A house.)
The father is not yet born, the son already reaches to heaven. (Fire and smoke.)
Two little sisters do not meet over a hill. (The eyes.
Not a bush, but with leaves; not a shirt, but sewed together; not a person, but it speaks. (A book.)
Without a pencil, without hands, he paints flowers on the window. (The frost.)
A black devil sits on a golden seat. (A kettle on the fire.)
If you break through ice you find silver, if you break through the silver you find gold. (An egg.)
/96/ Five stables, one door. (A glove.)
In summer in fur--in winter without fur. (A pea.)
Neither legs nor hands, but it climbs a tree. (Hops.)
It goes through fire--it does not burn; it goes through water--it does not drown; it goes over straw--it does not rustle. (A shadow.)
Red coat, green cap. (A carrot.)
A little mother clothes the whole world. (A needle.)
A fine barrel without hopps. (An egg.)
Born in the forest, grown up there, it came home and became sacred. (The cross.)
Without a soul, without breath, it tells the truth. (A clock.)

* 538 What is red after death? (A crab.)

524 A blind little dove flutters through the whole world. (A letter.)

A little woman with one foot has 1,000 dresses. (A head of cabbage.)

* /Unnumbered page with illustration--Crosses in the Evening/

538 814 /97/ 5. On the Study of Lithuanian Folklore

We cannot close the present chapter without having cast a glance on the folklore research itself, whose results found here a brief presentation which proceeded essentially from an artistic standpoint. The beginning of this research goes about a hundred years back, when the recording of songs, fairy tales, proverbs, and other texts began. Today the printed collections alone comprise 12,000 folk songs with 3,000 melodies; in addition, close to 4,000 fairy tales and folk tales and thousands of smaller pieces. German scholarship was of special importance, above all for the beginning of the scientific investigation of Lithuanian folk poetry. At first it was philology that drew the Lithuanian songs, fairy tales, proverbs, etc. into its scope; later the investigation of Lithuanian folk literature became a special field of study, which, to be sure, until very recently has been to a certain degree dependent on philology. Men like Schleicher, Bezzenberger, Geitler, Brugmann, Leskien, Chr. Bartsch, passarge, Zweck, Sauerwein, Gisevius, Tetzner, Scheu, and many others were indispensable to the development of this science. The publications of the "Litauische Literarische Gesellschaft" which existed before the first World War contain in all areas of Lithuanian folklore the most valuable results and suggestions, especially since the society placed its organ at the disposal of non-German scholars, too. The contribution of other nations is weaker, although here, too, important names in the field of folklore study can be named,

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such as Fortunatow, Boudouin de Courtenay, and in more recent times the Finnish Professor Niemi.

Approximately at the same time--at the beginning of the nineteenth century--research was taken up in Lithuania itself. Here, too, arose extensive collections of songs, fairy tales, and proverbs; the names of Stanewicz (1828), Daukantas (1846), Valančius, Jonas and Antanas Juškevičius, /98/ Sabaliauskas, Basanavičius, Volteris, along with many others, may be mentioned. These scholars worked in the field of pure research and also enriched the scientific literature by numerous studies on folklore.

After the founding of the Lithuanian University research was at first taken up by the faculty of humanities, which assigned it in 1930 to a special "Commission for Folk Poetry." Both the publications of the faculty in its organ Tauta ir Zodis (Folk and Word), whose seventh and last volume appeared in 1931, and those of the commission, whose investigations are set down in a total of ten volumes (Mūsų Tautosaka--our folk poetry), contain rich and valuable material. For research on fairy tales, Volume 9 is particularly important. A further commission was assigned the investigation of the melodies of folk songs.

In the year 1935 the former commissions were replaced by the "Lietuvių Tautosakos Archyvas" (Lithuanian Archive for Folk Poetry) as an independent research institute separate from the university. The publications of the archive appear under the title Tautosakos Darbai (Studies in the field of Folk Poetry, three volumes to date.) Fundamental for fairy tale research is Volume II, which contains a "Catalogue of the Motifs of the Lithuanian Narrative Folk Poetry" in the Lithuanian and English languages, by J. Balys, with a total of 3,912 numbers.

At the beginning of the year 1938 the coll-

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538 ections of the archive amounted to 112,000 texts of folk songs with about 13,000 melodies, 21,000 folk tales, 49,000 proverbs and sayings, 34,000 riddles, 55,000 texts dealing with superstition, and a large number of other pieces, a total of 305,000. In addition to these there are the collections, which originated mostly before the World War, of the "Lithuanian Scientific Society" (Lietuvių Mokslo Draugija) in Vilna with about 10,000 songs and nearly 4,000 fairy tales and other foll tales.

/99/ There is thus a tremendous amount of material that is already available today. Further research will largely be engaged in the collection of variants. (60) With regard to the work of the Folklore Archive it may also be noted that the texts and melodies today are not only set down on paper but are also sung and spoken on phonograph records. The number of melodies and texts recorded in this way amounts at present to over 6,000.

Among the Lithuanian scholars who in the last two decades have distinguished themselves in the area of folklore studies, professors Krēvē-Mickevičius, Balys Sruoga, Mykolas Biržiška, and Dr. Jonas Balys should be named above all. Prof. T. Brazys supplied important contributions to the knowledge of the melodies of the Lithuanian folk

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[113] 60. A good survey of the present state of folklore study in Lithuania and its problems is given by J. Balys in his series of essays "Mūsų tautosaka" (Our Folk Poetry) in the periodical Jaunoji Karta (Young Generation), 1938, Nos. 7, 9, 10, 11, and 12. A short summary is contained in the essay of the same author, "A Short Review of the Collection of Lithuanian Folklore," Tautosakos darbai, Vol. I.

814 538 songs. The strong interest that exists today in Lithuania in the collection and investigation of the folk literature is also expressed in the large number of voluntary collaborators who have made themselves available in all walks of society.

## /101/ Chapter Three

## The Folk Art

113 /Unnumbered note on Chapter Three/ Fundamental for the knowledge of Lithuanian folk art is today the great work published by the Chamber of Agriculture: Socžiaus Menas (The Art of the Village), of which to date six volumes have been published; Vol. I, Weaving; Vol. II, Aprons; Vol. III, Patterns of Folk Art Products (wood carving, pottery, etc.); Vol. IV, Ribbons (Juostos); Vol. V, Knitting and Crocheting Patterns; Vol. VI, Patterns of Ancient Handiwork (Kaunas, 1931-34). This is a large collection of pictures with detailed introductions written by the chief of the department of folk art, A. Tamošaitis, concerning the techniques and their development. (Cf. in addition the essay of the same author concerning the Lithuanian weaving in the Liet. Enciklopedija (Lithuanian Encyclopedia), Vol. I.) The Lithuanian juostos by themselves are treated in the picture book published by Galaune, Lietuvių juostų raštai (Patterns of Lithuanian Ribbons) (Kaunas, 1928) (40 lithographed plates). The Lithuanian roofed crosses are treated in detail in the large picture book by Jaroševičius, Lietuvii Kryžiai (Lithuanian Crosses) (Vilna, 1912).

## A. The Rural Architecture

### 1. The Farmhouse

In the previous chapter we have shown how the artistic will and talent of the Lithuanian people is expressed in its songs, sagas, fairy tales, proverbs, and riddles. Power of presentation and instinct for form, however, are no less strongly revealed in the characteristic elaboration and creative manipulation of such materials as belong to the most primitive of human life; we may think here of the motifs of the peasant art of weaving or of the art of wood-carving in all its ramifications.

322 The Lithuanian art of wood-carving grew out of an unknown but spiritually rich antiquity. Still today the wooden house of the peasant stands next to the wooden church and the wooden bell tower in the villages of the country. At crossroads and in the cemeteries the old crosses tower into the air, with their rich ornaments and decorative motifs and with their figures of saints carved out of wood. Here, too, we meet the same elements of an aesthetic rhythmic, and mystical nature from which all artistic experience traces its origin. Before, however, we pass on to the separate spheres of this art, we must cast a brief glance at the Lithuanian farmhouse and the Lithuanian village church.

342 /102/ It should be noted at the outset that usually the most varied influences are at work on the farmhouse and its form; first of all geographic influences, and also those connected with the general economic situation and culture of the country. Every economic revolution affects also the form of the houses, and Lithuania has not lacked such revolutions. Thus the present house types in this country point to a relatively recent development. To trace this thread backward from the present would lead too far in this context; let then a few thoughts be repeated only

342 briefly, as formulated approximately as follows by Prof. H. Naumann in his Deutsche Volkskunde: "Ur" Europe was familiar with two forms of houses, the circular stone construction in the southern and central regions and the wood construction in the north and east. Both forms were conditioned by the material. The larger forests of the east supplied the building material, just as did the stony soil of the southern European regions, which were poor in forests. "The wooden house still reaches directly into the forest; the stone house bears witness of a glaring sun, from which it offers better protection. The right-angled wooden house was erected principally with the purpose of enclosing the hearth in a protected space and 343 creating a place of warmth." (1) Thus the hearth or smoke house is the oldest type of wooden house. It was necessarily developed into a house with an entrance hall. Since the smoke drew off only incompletely through the roof, it was found necessary to construct an entrance hall in which air could be obtained.

If, to be sure, Dlugosz still describes the Samogitian house in the year 1413 as a smoke house, in which men and cattle lived together, this representation is obviously biased, for the few older so-called "inventories" already mention all the buildings of the present Lithuanian farm, together with their own Lithuanian designations, although the "inventories" were written in the White Russian or Polish languages. Where under particularly miserable conditions men and cattle lived together under one roof, the stable was in any case /103/ separated by a partition from the human lodgings. Also the existence of the pirtis, the Lithuanian steam bath, has, in contrast to

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[113] 1. Hans Naumann, Grundzüge der deutschen Volkskunde, 2nd ed. (1929), pp. 28-29.

343 White Russia, has been confirmed as early as the sixteenth century as a special structure within the framework of the Lithuanian farmhouse. (2)

[113] 2. P. Galaunē, Lietuvių liaudies menas, jo meninių formų plētojimosi pagrindai, Hum. Mok. fakulteto leidinys (Lithuanian Folk Art, the Foundations of the Development of its Artistic Forms, Publication of the Humanities Faculty) (Kaunas, 1930), pp. 33-38.

342 In contrast to frame construction the Lithuanian farm knows only the joining of logs, which was made possible by the abundance of wood in the country. The roof consists usually of straw, less often of shingles. The walls are put together of long beams in the familiar manner of wooden miter construction /Schurzholzbau/ (Gehrsassbau)/. The partitions are made in exactly the same way. Doors and windows are made by cutting out pieces of the logs and mortising the pieces to jambs attached to the sides of the window. "This is the form which occurs everywhere in log construction; it results from the nature of wood." (3)

[113] 3. Cornelius Gurlitt, "Alt-litauisches Bauwesen," Der Tag, Berlin, September 8, 1918.

The rural farm typical of Lithuania today is grouped around a courtyard in various separate buildings. The stable lies at right angles to the dwelling, the large barn opposite the dwelling, and on the fourth side of the rectangle is the klētis, the storeroom of the farmer in which he preserves his best possessions and in which also a sleeping room is located. Its windows are unusually small for security. In front of the entrance is a porch supported by columns and usually

342 beautifully decorated, to which several steps lead up. (4)

[113] 4. Cf. on this point also Dr. Dethlefsen, Führer durch das Ostpreussische Heimatmuseum (1913), p. 12.

We must dwell a little on this most noteworthy building of the Lithuanian farm, for we have here apparently the primitive type of the Lithuanian house, of which Caspar Hennenberger already reports, in 1595, in his description of the Lithuanians living on Prussian soil: "The house within which they all eat is called the black house / and is in truth black enough from 343 smoke and soot. In addition every married couple has a separate little house / that is called a kleidt (klēte) / constructed of round logs / below it has something like a low little cellar/ on top a sort of chamber without windows/ only one door/ where they /104/ go in /. . ." (5) The present-day klētis, which in its simplest form contains only a small quadrangle space, sometimes square, sometimes rectangular, carries a straw roof whose ridge runs parallel to the long axis, but at times it runs perpendicular to it and then makes the roof surfaces slope to the front and rear instead of to right and left. "Thus this strange granary has the unmistakable plan of a little ancient Greek temple of the earliest period." (6)

[113] 5. Quoted according to Dr. Hans Mortensen, Litauen, Grundzüge einer Landeskinde (Hamburg, 1926), p. 97.

[113] 6. Hans Naumann, "Vom litauischen Bauernhaus," Das neue Litauen, Vol. 2 (1918), Nos. 1/2, pp. 98, 99, 106.

342 343 The development then probably proceeded in such a way that, with increased requirements, out of the forms of the old klētis the dwelling house was developed, while the klētis itself obtained its present designation. On the basis of the Samogitian numas (house) described by Tumas, Galaunē shows that the Lithuanian farmhouse, as it later developed, contains within it all the elements of construction of the old klētis, (7) and

7. P. Galaunē, op. cit., pp. 46-50.

Pfor. Naumann also points to this connection when he writes: "If we separate the right and left wings of the farmhouse from the middle section and nothing but the latter is left, do we not then obtain exactly our granary, that prototype of a simple little ancient Greek temple? May we have here perhaps a relationship reaching into the southeast of Europe? Does it not appear as if we have before us the primitive eastern European house, which here became a granary, there a temple, when there was need for expanded facilities?"(8)

8. Hans Naumann, Vom litauischen Bauernhaus, op. cit., p. 106.

A description of the interior organization of the Lithuanian dwelling lies outside the scope of this presentation. In connection with Naumann's propositions we may only refer to the three-part structure of the Lithuanian farmhouse, constantly repeated in various forms, as well as its typical front section of columns. Although the latter is not found everywhere, the farmhouse has been taken over in this form into the cities, where often enough it has found its imitation in stone. (9)

113 9. For the Lithuanian farmhouse cf. further: Baurat Richard Dethlefsen, Bauernhäuser und

113 Holzkirchen in Ostpreussen (Berlin, 1911), Chapter: "Litauen," pp. 17-35. Adalbert Bezzenberger, "Über das litauische Haus, Ein Versuch," Altpreussiche Monats-Schrift. N.F., Vol. 23 (Königsberg, 1886), pp. 34-79. R. Virchow, "Die altpreussische Bevölkerung, namentlich Letten und Litauer, sowie deren Häuser," Verhandlungen der Berl. Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte (Berlin, 1891). A Bezzenberger, "Bemerkungen über den Hausbau im russischen Litauen und in einem Teile Kurlands," Sitzungsber. d. Altert. Gesellsch. Prussia, No. 19 (Königsberg, 1895), pp. 130 ff. Basic: H. Grisebach, "Das polnische Bauernhaus," Veröffentlichungen der Landeskundlichen Kommission beim Kaiserl. Deutschen Gen.-Gouv. Warschau, Beiträge zur poln. Landeskunde, Series B (Berlin, 1917).

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Special interest is awakened by the roof forms: the most common is the house with a perpendicular gable in which the uppermost triangular section of the /105/ gable wall consists of boards. Along with this form we find as the simplest form the full slope with or without "owl's nest", and far more frequently the half slope, which appears in various forms. Dr. Hans Mortensen, who has investigated more closely the roof forms of Lithuania with regard to their topographical differences, was able to establish no "direct geographical conditioning of the various types of design." The house with the fully sloped gable appears to him the basic form of the individual types. "This basic form, according to Grisebach, resulted from the 'pavilion' through the addition of a ridge." The co-existence of six different types of designs, as we meet them today in the Lithuanian farmhouse, betrays in any case, in spite of all traditional

342 restraint, a mental flexibility of its inhabitants and follows along the path of the natural development that has led from the old "smoke house" to the present-day form of the Lithuanian farm. (10)

10. Cf. the presentation of the types of design of the Lithuanian farmhouse in Mortensen (op. cit., pp. 93-96) and the analogous drawings in Galaunē (op. cit., p. 55). [See cat. #3, pp. 113 + 114 —Analyst]

531 If the external form and organization of
322 the farmhouse resulted at first from practical
342 requirements, at the same time the wood construction was easier to work with and met the needs of decoration to a greater degree then the simple stone construction. It is understandable that the artistic embellishment extended predominantly to the appendages of the buildings. Here Lithuanian ornamentation unfolded in beautiful patterns based partly on the surrounding nature and partly constructed according to strict geometrical principles. The richest decorations of this type are found in the klētis, again proof that this peculiar building was not a simple granary but the primitive dwelling. We find the instinct for artistic forms both in the various types of carved columns of the porch and the beautifully vaulted arches at the ends of the sides. (11)

11. P. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 62.

The front part of the dwelling, resting on four columns, exhibits in its ornamentation elements of the baroque and the renaissance, whose models, following Galaunē, /106/ we will have to seek first in the buildings of Lithuanian castles and farms of that period. A parallel phenomenon of this sort of adaptation to a more general cul-

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tural level is formed by the colorful ornamentation of the old South German farmhouses. Especially the carved decorative mouldings which close the front part of the Lithuanian dwelling toward the roof exhibit a great ornamental richness. The massive front doors of the farmhouses are usually decorated with a rosette, the symbol of the sun. Stylized animal and plant patterns are born primarily by the upper end mouldings of the windows, while the often brightly painted shutters themselves are decorated with carved rosettes. The so-called "gable horns" are basically no more than the gable-shaped supports of the long pole that forms the ridge of the wooden house. A lively need for ornamentation has shaped them in Lithuania, similarly as in North Germany, into the most varied forms. We find the silhouetted imitations of horse heads, as well as birds, flowers, and people.

The ornamental decoration of the Lithuanian farmhouse frequently exhibits in the north and northeast of the country Russian influences of style which differ distinctly from the Lithuanian patterns. The latter extend farther back into antiquity. "We will not be mistaken," says the Lithuanian art historian Galaunē, "if we maintain that among no other people, with the possible exception of the Letts and Finns, such an abundance of primitive elements has been preserved as in our ornamentation." (12) This ornamentation, concerning which more must be said in another place, in its application to the Lithuanian farmhouse, is of strict proportions and pure form. It is harmoniously fitted into its principles of construction as to proportion and line. And as there is no farmhouse in the whole country that does not have its little flower garden which is

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12. Ibid., p. 23.

531 lovingly cared for by the girls, this same loving
322 attitude took the elements of Lithuanian ornament-
342 ation out of the surrounding nature and decorated
the simple house of the Lithuanian farmer with its
symbols.

/107/ 2. The Village Church

000 From what was said above results also the special mood which hovers over the Lithuanian villages and which hardly an artist who has once stayed in Lithuania has escaped. One must, perhaps, have wandered oneself through the country and entered one of these quiet farms, which nothing betrays from afar but the circle of trees which surrounds it. One must once have made a long journey through the country, have experienced the colorful shades of an evening in the East, the rushing of a village stream, the fragrance of the little hidden gardens. For this mood is necessary to the understanding of the Lithuanian village.

[346] On the highest hill in the village lies the church, plainly built in the simple forms of log construction.

Let us remember how we regard the city church or cathedral as the symbol of soaring worship of God in a wealthy commercial and royal city. Here everyone feels the concentrated energy of the whole population directed toward the attainment of a higher goal, dedicated to a higher, supernatural idea, desirous of giving here its best. But is it basically any different with the little Catholic village churches of Lithuania? Is not in the last analysis everything which the human spirit has created in the sense of a higher idea, a pious ideal, to be considered as equally valuable?--with the sole difference that in the one case the idea was able to unfold freely, while in the other case it remained bound within simple limits. With such thoughts one may enter

000 the little Lithuanian village churches.

346 If we proceed from the idea that every artistic accomplishment was conditioned by what preceded it and conditions that which comes after, one must on principle, in considering the Lithuanian churches, hold to the clear distinction between the simple wooden churches in the countryside and the Gothic or baroque, churches in the /108/ cities. The two have originally nothing in common. They have resulted from different traditions.

The Lithuanian farmhouse has already shown us that the only building material which had been available in the countryside since olden times was wood. The earliest churches of the country were also built of wood. These dwelling places which the people erected in the countryside to their God hardly differed in the beginning from the dwellings of the peasants themselves. They were little chapels, as we can still see them today in many Lithuanian cemeteries, in ground plan a longish rectangle, at one of whose narrow sides the roof was extended forward and supported by four columns, similarly as in the klētis. A little turret tower served for the installation of the bell. Thus the words with which Naumann describes the German village church, formed of the same elements, can also be applied to the old Lithuanian village church: "Almost never do we find a transept; usually there is only a simple, small, rectangular main aisle [langhaus] which, particularly in wood, makes a primitively ancient impression. In the German districts of Hungary and Transylvania and in Upper Silesia the wooden churches bear a remarkable resemblance to the Nordic ones; they show log construction and small windows . . .At the front is found the usually open entrance hall." (13)

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13. Hans Naumann, Volkskunde, op. cit.,p. 40.

346 Unfortunately the oldest Lithuanian wooden churches of this type from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are no longer preserved; the earliest of those which still exist originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, as a result, already have a considerable development of style behind them. The most important task was in most cases the problem of spanning a larger space. Thus log construction had to yield in favor of skid and framework construction. To increase the limited spans there was a transition to pillars and thereby to a three-aisled arrangement. Originally there was no choir. Later the lack of space forced its construction, and the back side of the nave was built out into an apse, which thereby was added to the church as a new independent section.

/109/ In contrast to the farmhouse the development of the style of the village church in the seventeenth century led to a stronger introduction of baroque elements. Even the form of the churches themselves underwent a change: the ground plan of the nave obtained the form of a cross through the addition of two almost symmetrical side wings, in one of which the sacristy, the other a chapel were located. The significance of this change of form lies in the fact that a shorter transept cut the nave exactly in half. A central space was thereby formed at the point of intersection, "but the shortness of the cross arms shifts the central spacial impression in favor of the longitudinal direction. (14) The

113 14. Dr. Günther Grundmann, Die Bethäuser und Bethauskirchen des Kreises Hirschberg (Breslau, 1922), p. 8. On the development of the village church cf. further: Wippert and Burgemeister, Die Holzkirchen und Holztürme der preussischen Ostprovinzen (Berlin, 1905). Gruner, Die Dorfkirche im Königreich

346 towers were changed into baroque cupolas. The roof became higher; the outer walls of the church were covered with boards and ornamented with sawed out decorative mouldings. The nineteenth century then brought with it a strong influence of the Gothic. Thus today we occasionally come upon large wooden churches which, seen from afar, give the effect, or want to give the effect, of stone churches, which undoubtedly must be described as a "deviation from the logical use of the material." (15) The peasant wanted to build his church on the model of the city church. Modestly though he lived for his own person, he wanted to see his church beautiful, even ostentatious; between village and church there exist quite special relationships in a country in which the village is only a village which knows no tavern, hardly even a modest store. Thus "the church with its feasts and processions, its colors and sounds, its candles and clouds of incense, is to the peasant exaltation and relaxation as well; it is for him a good parlor and festive hall."(16)

It was precisely the magnificence of the baroque, brought to the country from Vilna in the seventeenth century by the Jesuits, which must have met especially well the peasant's need for ornamentation. Thus we find the interior furnish-

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113 Sachsen. Paul Brinkmann, Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, I and II. Richard Konwiarz, Alt-Schlesien, Architektur, Raumkunst, Kunstgewerbe.

[113] 15. Prof. Dr. Paul Weber, "Litauische Kirchen," in Bilder aus Litauen, 2nd ed. (Kowno, 1917), p. 121.

16. Ibid., p. 121.

346 ings of the wooden village churches permeated with elements of baroque style; yet, in contrast to the stone church of the city, this style did not unfold freely but /110/ was changed into primitive forms in the hands of peasant workmen. We see this above all in the decoration of the altars and confessionals. (17)

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177 Although architecture and interior furnishings of the present-day Lithuanian village church point to numerous foreign influences, the bell tower, which today in most cases maintains its place as an independent building next to the church, preserves in Lithuania very old and characteristic forms. It belongs to the most charming creations of peasant architecture and is still today--even where the primitive wooden church has long given way to stone construction--usually built of wood. Architectonically it does not form any unity with the church standing next to it.

The original significance of these old bell towers does not seem to have been that of the campanile. For this function the turret tower mentioned before would have fully sufficed. We must rather seek the origin of these peculiar towers in warlike purposes. We still find today in Germany and Austria real fortress-like defense churches, erected on the highest and strategically most secure point of the village. "There the tower stood out like a watchtower, attached on the model of the fortress." (18) That in the Ukraine and Poland, too, wooden towers provided the models for the later bell towers is proved by the investigations of Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian art historians like Moklowski, Iwarnicki, and Pawlucki.

17. P. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 86.

18. Naumann, Volkskunde, loc. cit., p. 40.

346 177 With the close relationship of Lithuania to these countries they were bound to exert an influence on it, so that Galaunē arrives at the conclusion: "The bell towers of the Ukraine, above all however of Galicia, are known from a much older period (the beginning of the sixteenth century) than ours; several of them differ in their form only little from our bell towers. For this reason, in my opinion one must seek the elements of the wooden fortress in the architecture of the Lithuanian bell towers too." (19)

19. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 92.

346 /111/ If these established points prove that in all probability the Lithuanian bell towers go back in their origin to older models, these towers also contain numerous independent architectonic elements which are to be regarded as purely Lithuanian. The village artist strove for the greatest possible variety within the framework at his disposal. We are always surprised anew by the great richness of form, the diversity of the distribution of the masses, which contain all phases of expression from light enthusiasm to calm seriousness and from simple modesty to complicated expression. Thus each of these wooden bell towers is an individual work of art, deeply rooted in the life of the Lithuanian peasants and indispensable to the picture of the Lithuanian countryside.

## B. The Village Art

### 778 1. The Roofed Crosses

322 764 If the village artist was bound by the practical purposes of his work in the construction of the farmhouses, village churches, and bell towers, his art could be that much more freely unfolded in those strange, towering crosses which represent the real landmarks of the Lithuanian landscape. The German poet Herbert Eulenberg reproduces the

778 764 322 impression of these crosses in the following beautiful words: "Nowhere in the world except perhaps in the Tyrol does one see as many crosses as in Lithuania. Like high masts they stand individually by the village street, on the ridges of fields, and at crossroads. One finds them grouped together in the cemeteries of Lithuania, where they grow out of the graves like great, gloomy lilies. Bent over by time, these high grave crosses greet the passing hiker or traveller like tokens of the dead, with whom the Lithuanian people as no other live in constant fearful or friendly contact. Especially in the winter it makes an often uncanny impression when out of the broad surface of snow which /112/ covers the whole land the high black crosses project and seem to beckon one with an earnest finger. And the sight of a Lithuanian cemetery in the winter will remain unforgettably impressed in the memory of anyone, when the gloomy outlines of such a group of crosses rise against the glowing red of the sunset like the shadows of Golgotha." (20) The East Prussian Alfred Brust says of the same crosses: "There are among them works of art which, surrendered to every wind and weather, belong to the great rarities of simplest but most profound folk art." (21) Prof. Otto Schwindrazheim defines the Lithuanian crosses as "masterpieces of popular wooden art," (22) and the Italian art historian

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[113] 20. Hermann Struck and Herbert Eulenberg, Skizzen aus litauen, Weissrussland und Kurland (Berlin, 1916).

[113] 21. Alfred Brust, "Die litauische Kultur und der Expressionismus," Das neue Litauen, 1918, No. 14, pp. 50-51.

778 Luigi Caglio actually describes them as the "most
322 typical manifestation of folk art in Europe.' (23)
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23. Luigi Caglio, Alla Biennale di Monza (1925). (Quoted according to Galaune, op. cit., p. 103.)

No artist, however, has more strongly grasped and reproduced the mystical impression which proceeds from these crosses than the Lithuanian painter Čiurlionis in his picture "Samogitian Cemetery." It is characteristic that almost every observer who surrendered himself to the strong mood of these crosses felt at the same time the contrast that exists between these apparent manifestations of Christian faith and the rational nature of Christianity itself--a contrast which naturally does not enter the consciousness of the present-day "God carvers" /Herrgottsschnitzer/, who work within the framework of primitive traditions. And it is really not the abundance of pagan symbols with which these monuments of devout veneration of the dead are decorated, but rather the totality of the impression, which seizes the observer with compelling force. Already their majestic height--five or six meters--is unique and distinguishes them from all similar monuments of Christian origin. But scholarly research too, which has turned its attention to the Lithuanian crosses since the beginning of this century and has tried first and foremost to solve the problem of their origin, proceeding from the most varied viewpoints, has arrived at the same conclusion: the Lithuanian crosses grew out of the pagan veneration of the dead by the Lithuanians and represent a primitive /Unnumbered page with illustration--Roofed Crosses, after a Painting by Čiurlionis/ /113/ monument of ancient Lithuanian culture. Only at a later period did they acquire their present Christian appearance, without, how-

778 322 764 ever, casting off completely their old forms. We encounter this view, first vaguely indicated by Szukiewicz, the first investigator of the crosses of the Vilna area, in the work of Brensteyn on the Samogitian roofed crosses, in 1906, as an already confirmed theory, which is later extensively supported by the archaeological investigations of Dr. Basanavičius. The famous ecclesiastical prohibition with which Michael, the Bishop of Sambia, in 1426, forbade the erection of crosses in the cemeteries agrees with these conclusions. The founding of the Lithuanian state gave this research a further impetus: many thousands of crosses in the country were photographed and recorded in drawings, so that the history of art has today at its disposal an incomparably greater amount of material than before the World War.

According to our present knowledge, as expressed in the works of Galaunē and Rukštelē,(24) the modern roofed crosses resulted from simple wooden columns which were erected by the graves of

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[113] 24. W. Szukiewicz, Krzyže zdobne w gubernju Wilenskiej ("Wisła" 1903), Vol. XVII. Brensteyn, Krzyže i kapliczki (1906). Dr. J. Basanavičius, Lietuvių kryžiai archeologijos šviesoje (The Lithuanian Crosses in the Light of Archaeology). Brensteyn investigates in his work exclusively the roofed crosses of Samogitia. The essay of Dr. Basanavičius forms the introduction to the picture book of Jaroševičius mentioned at the beginning: Lietuvii Kryžiai. An abstract in German in V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen (Berlin, 1926), pp. 71-90.) The most recent literature: Antanas Rukštelē, Lietuvių Tautodailē (Kaunas, 1929), pp. 55-69. Scholarly: Galaunē, op. cit., pp. 101-142 (with detailed references).

the dead as early as in pagan times. They originated from the cult of the dead and were probably intended as dwelling places for the souls of the departed. As such they are also attested to among neighboring peoples.

The development probably proceeded as follows: on these columns a two-part, later polygonal or circular, roof was placed in order to protect the stem from rain and snow. In these square columns, which were of considerable strength, little niches were carved out, perhaps in order thus to provide a dwelling for the souls of the dead, perhaps already under Christian influence; for in these niches, which are still occasionally encountered today, we have the original form of those little saints' chapels with which most of the present-day crosses are decorated. With the decrease in strong trees, the chapels were set free from their bonds, gained structural independence, /114/ and were set on top of the wooden columns--at first in place of the roof, which then appeared raised and supported by little columns, later as real little chapels with partially closed side walls. This facilitated their further artistic development in which Lithuanian wooden ornamentation was able to unfold its characteristic forms. Only at the end of the seventeenth or at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, in Galaunē's view, did the Lithuanian grave columns described here obtain in part the form of a cross. It resulted from the prohibitions of the clergy, who were opposed to the placing of the figures of saints in such chapels which were attached to simple wooden columns or carved out of them. (25)

25. P. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 110.

The forms of the Lithuanian crosses, their chapels, and their ornamentation exhibit an infinite diversity. Almost every province, even

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every parish has its peculiarities. Among the thousands of photographs mentioned above, which today are found in the Lithuanian folklore museum in Kaunas, hardly one looks like any of the others. So strongly, in spite of all traditional restrictions, have the God-carvers expressed their individuality.

In the spiritual life of the country people these crosses have until quite recently occupied a prominent position. They were set up on all important occasions, at births, baptisms, and weddings, at disasters and illnesses, at bad harvests and as thanksgiving for good ones. They were placed not only in cemeteries, but also at the entrances to villages, in private gardens, on hills and fields, at rivers and springs and in dark forests. Their number was so great that the traveller through Samogitia met them at every turn, and in the region of Vilna, as Szukiewicz reports, (26) they even took the place of the trees.

26. p. 131.

Although in the meantime many have been destroyed by nature itself and many others have fallen victim to war, the ancient Lithuanian province of Samogitia still has at its disposal today an immense quantity of cross motifs and decorative forms. An organization of these crosses into specific types, which /115/ research in art history has repeatedly attempted, is only possible with this abundance of forms if one proceeds from the structural forms of the crosses themselves and disregards all decorative motifs. (27) We

27. p. 127.

then obtain three large groups--the wooden columns provided only with a roof, second the columns with chapels, and third the crosses proper. Among

778 322 764 the roofed columns Galaunē distinguishes 44 different types, among the columns with chapels 12, and among the crosses with a crossbar no less than 46. (27) Of these groups the first and most ancient has today almost disappeared in Lithuania; the last and most recent is the most frequently represented.

Not all the crosses, though very many, are decorated with the saints' chapels mentioned at the beginning. The latter, to be sure, as can be seen in their style, go back to a considerably more recent period, and seem to have found their model in the style of the wooden bell towers and village churches.

We find such little chapels not only in connection with the crosses--whether it be at the point of intersection of the crossbar or at the end of the wooden column--chapels one or two meters high resting on the earth or built on a stone foundation are also no rarity. In their decoration various types of style from Gothic to baroque, even rococo, can be clearly recognized. As already mentioned in another place, the baroque style obviously met more than any other the decorative requirements of the peasant artist. Its application frequently betrays great taste. From the decorative elements of these little works of art flows, as Galaunē says, "such simplicity, such earnestness, and such subtle sensitivity that one must arrive at the conviction that in Lithuania the baroque style was closely related not only to the stone architecture of the country's cities, but also the psyche of the people." (28) These chapels are filled with statuettes of saints carved

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27. p. 127.

28. p. 137.

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of wood with occasional votive offerings between them, and at times we see the representation of whole biblical scenes, above all the Way of the Cross.

/116/ The saints' chapels on the crosses and columns themselves are also very diverse. We find up to three arranged on top of each other, and sometimes four on all sides of the column. Thus the Lithuanian cross occasionally has more the effect of a little Chinese pagoda than of a Christian cross. The number of chapels depends on the number of saints' figures which one desired to house in them. Each tier is divided into sections, so that each saint is housed by himself. The form of the chapels is usually quadrangular, but hexagonal and octagonal ones with open fronts are also not rare. Still others, which rest on only moderately high columns, have the form of little altars. Still others are not attached to crosses, but to trees. In addition we find quite simple ones with only a roof over the picture of Christ, which we can hardly describe as chapels.

Among the decorative forms of the little chapels the sawed-out, scalloped, wavy, and openwork edges of the boards, at times completely sawed-out ornamental boards, are most evident.(29) In addition there is, both in the crosses and chapels, a great abundance of ornamentation: twisted columns, baroque spiral ornaments, little wooden bells hanging down, stylized wreathes, leaves, and flowers. Many of these ornaments undoubtedly stem from very old, pre-Christian times, primarily those geometrical patterns which we will meet later in other products of the folk art, and which remind us of the ornamentation of prehistoric pots and articles of bronze. The zigzags, the ribbon patterns, the braid patterns, the fir tree

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29. Schwindrazheim, op. cit., p. 48.

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patterns, the rosettes--they all are repeated in constantly new combinations. In the stylization of animals--the latter occur more seldom--we find birds and snakes, reminders of the serpent cult of the ancient Lithuanians. The crosses obtain their special characteristic, however, in the representation of sun, moon, and stars. The sun is usually represented as an iron cross with beams set on top, at times moved to the intersection of the crossbar. Its symbol /117/ is the circle, at times also a clearly executed sun disc from which rays radiate. In stark contrast to those of the Christian halo, the rays of the Lithuanian cross are zigzags, spirals, or the shape of lotus leaves and thorns. Others are formed like flowers, anchors, and crosses, or like hammers and arrows. The stars appear at the ends of the rays of the sun cross; the moon is a half moon open toward the top beneath the sun disc. Next to the pagan symbols of life are the Christian symbols of the suffering and death of Jesus--spear, hammer, and ladder--in addition chalices and monstrances, angels holding crowns and blowing trumpets, and many other Christian attributes. Nevertheless, this second group is subordinate to the first.

Perhaps later folklore research will be able to explore more deeply the meaning of the symbolism represented here. (30) The pagan symbols

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30. Among others, H. Schaeder attempts a penetrating symbolic interpretation in an essay, "Litauische Ornamentik, Das Land Ober-Ost" (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917), p. 63.

of life, trees and plants; the symbols of light and animating warmth, the sun and stars; the symbols of love and tender affection, hearts, flowers,

778 and birds; and many others whose meaning is hidden
to us grow out of the Lithuanian crosses as the
322 expression of a deep mental attitude which flows
764 from the spiritual life of an inwardly rich people.
From the purely artistic angle, in the Lithuanian cross ornamentation, which recalls both a most loyal attachment to faith and a close communion with the dead, we are touched by the compactness with which it grows out of the crosses and blends into a unity with them. (31) In current times, to be sure, it must be recognized how amid a younger and more rationalistic generation the old symbolism of the forefathers is more and more forgotten. Not only does the old custom of setting up crosses disappear; even where wooden crosses are still erected, one meets more and more frequently slender, smooth crosses without any ornamentation, of which only the majestic height still recalls their primitive tradition. (32)

/118/ 2. The Wood Sculpture

532 Our survey of the Lithuanian crosses and their chapels would not be complete if we did not include in our presentation those wooden sculptures of the Christian saints which were mentioned above and for whose sake the chapels of the Lithuanian crosses were created.

Lithuanian wood sculpture, to which we thus turn our attention, has, in its origin and its early stages, not been clarified. Romantic research,

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[113] 31. V. Jungfer, Alt-Litauen, op. cit., p. 87. V. Jungfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern, Bilder litauischen Volkstums (Königsberg, 1932), pp. 45 and 58.

32. A few beautiful and artistically valuable crosses have today been set up in the garden of the Vytautas Museum in Kaunas.

including also Brensteyn and Dr. Basanavičius, attributed it to paganism and supported this view with a prohibition of Bishop Tyszkiewicz from the year 1752, which reads: "In many towns in Samogitia highly unskilled wood carvers go about, real destroyers and blasphemers of sculpture, who at their own risk blaspheme the statued of saints, so that they do not look like gods but like Lernean monsters which have nothing at all to do with any sacred tradition in their appearance and features." (33)

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33. Cf. V. Jungfer, Julturbilder aus Litauen (Berlin, 1918), p. 120. The complete Latin text reads: "Plurimis in locis per Samogitiam divagantur imperitissimi sculptores, an verius Iconoclastae et Iconomachi, qui proprio Marte effigies Sanctorum moliantur, non quam speciem deorum, quam monstra Lernaea ab omni sacra Traditione, habitu gestuque ex toto se abhorrentia, vili autem pretio simplicioribus abtrudentes graviter eis imponant, unde optata pullulat, materia nullis vicinorum sectariorum cachinnis. Parochi locorum arguant, increpant tales et confiscent, nisi specialem an Nobis produxerint licentiam."

The current term for these sculptures--in the vernacular dievukai "little gods"--seems to support this theory further. Now we have, however, no reliable support for any anthropomorphic belief among the ancient Lithuanians, and know only that they considered rivers, springs, and forests sacred as the dwelling places of their deities. On the other hand, the term dievukai for these sculptures among a Roman Catholic peasant folk is so self evident as to need no further explanations here. The fact that even today priests occasionally refuse to consecrate these sculptures if they fall outside the bounds of religious tradition, makes the prohibition of the bishop appear in quite a different light. It is therefore not permissible to infer an unconscious continuation of the images of pagan gods from the artistic incompetence of many wood carvers or their ignorance of religious models. On the contrary, the origin of the peasant wood /119/ sculpture in Lithuania seems by no means to reach that far back and is, as we shall see, closely tied to the religious interpretation of the Western middle ages.

It appears questionable, to be sure, whether Galaunē does not go too far when he places the earliest of these sculptures only at the beginning of the eighteenth century and explains the prohibition of the bishop by the fact that the first primitive and timid beginnings of this new art were conditioned by the baroque age, in which the city churches of the country were decorated with a particular abundance of pictures and sculptures. In them the village artist is supposed to have seen his oldest models, while the preceding Gothic did not so generally nourish religious sculpture in Lithuania and therefore remained without influence on the village. (34) Since all written

34. P. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 175.

sources are lacking, and since no sculptures from earlier periods have remained preserved because of the impermanent nature of the material, which was exposed to every weather, the question of age can probably never be completely solved.

As a matter of fact, although we find in the village sculptures various elements of baroque and even some of Gothic, it is mostly a matter of a primitive art of a peasant stamp, with which one could perhaps compare a few archaic examples from the early period of German art. (35)

35. pp. 176-180.

The Lithuanian sculptures reveal, first, the whole content of a clearly defined peasant culture, occasionally permeated by a certain homeliness of interpretation, and, seen from the standpoint of religious ideas, simplicity of faith. The best of these sculptures bear a serious and solemn character. The artistic means which are employed are elementary. The impression on the observer is frequently very strong and direct. There are among these figures those of block-like monumental effect, where little value is placed on the details, while again in others the details are carefully executed. Precisely the striving to achieve a monumental impression through the simplest presentation of form attests frequently to a sense and great understanding for the demands of sculpture.

/120/ The hair of the figures is symmetrically parted, frequently ornamentally stylized--in other parts of the same sculpture a realistic interpretation may again be realized. In the dress, long drapery predominates. The posture of all these figures is strictly frontal.

The anatomical feeling of the artist is not yet developed. The head of the figures as the seat of the spiritual functions is also favored in its proportions. The hands are too small or too big in relation to the rest of the body, and also of unequal size. In group representations, on the medieval model, the less important figures are scaled much smaller in their proportions than the principal figures. This even applies very often to the pieta representations, in which the scale of the body of Christ corresponds to that of a child, so that the significance of the sorrowing mother will be emphasized.

The artist still struggles for mastery of the material, he is still unable to animate his figures through movement--a small inclination of the head means here a good deal--or, in most cases, to give a deepened spiritual expression to the faces. Thus it is sometimes quite moving to see how the peasant artist tries to balance this failing through a piling up of the external attributes of pain; witness the heart of the sorrowing mother pierced by seven swords.

Occasionally these sculptures are so simplified that one can recognize only in the typical attributes which saint the artist intended to represent. Here the religious model is completely subordinate; the presentation of form attains its own character. In such cases the artist obviously has elaborated independently and individually his own impressions, taken from the gospels or from sermons. He has then infused his own life into his sculptures. And thus, under his hands, Saint Isidore, that pious Spanish farmhand for whom the angel plowed /121/ while he prayed, became a Lithuanian farmer with straw hat, peasant jacket, and wicker seed-basket. Thus the Mother of God, as she stood upon the serpent and crushed the sins of the world, became for him a Lithuanian peasant woman who has experienced much sorrow and much work, and whose features betray all the harshness of her fate. And thus genuine artistic expression frequently exudes from all the primitiveness and traditional restraint. In such creations the people shows its own face. In them is mirrored the culture of the country and the mental attitude of its inhabitants. From these two elements the peasant sculptures are to be understood. The connecting link, however, is the religious spirit which created them.

We know today the models for a large number of these village sculptures, know that the blessing Christ holding the globe has its model in a picture in the cathedral of Vilna, just as does Saint Kazimir--know that the sculptures of Jesus bearing the cross owe their origin to a small statue in the chapel of Šnikpiškis near Vilna, and that the standing Jesus with the chained hands goes back to a wooden statue in the Antokol church, (35) but basically these things are not at all so important. For the nameless artists of the Lithuanian villages who saw such models on their pilgrimages or in pictures of saints, in woodcuts and copper etchings in religious books—they recreated these things as their own artless sense dictated, gave them their own forms and their own primitive symbolism. What had been created by the Gothic and by baroque ostentation, what the art of wood-carving produced in the Western countries out of its own feeling for style, in drama and movement, in the highest refinement of inner expression--all that was changed by these thoughtful, pious, and quiet men into simple and heavy forms, into calm and as it were motionless masses, into quiet observation and epic narrative. It was as if the hand which had guided the plow by day was also heavy in the evening when it grasped the knife. In observing these /122/ things, one should never forget with what infinitely simple tools these sculptures were produced--only with hatchet and knife. They are carved from a single piece; only the appendages are usually attached.

All their models are borrowed from the spiritual and pictorial world of the Western Middle Ages, the form of the pieta as well as the group of St. George with the dragon, who became in Lithuania the patron saint of agriculture--only that here, too, independent deviations from the model are again to be noted, for St. George in these representations carries no banner with a red cross, but occasionally has the cross on his cloak like the knights of the orders of the Middle Ages. Even the most common of these sculptures, the sorrowing Christ (Lithuanian: rupintojēlis

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35. pp. 176-180.

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or smutkelis), is already knowr from a wood sculpture of the German Middle Ages around 1500. (36)

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36. Dr. Willi Burger, Altdeutsche Holzplastik (Berlin, 1926), p. 179. Cf. further: Franz Wolter and Willi Burger, Die mittelalterliche Holzplastik in Deutschland (Munich, 1924).

But precisely this sculpture, about whose meaning many pious legends are woven, has become quite an original possession of the people through its treatment by the peasant artists, and has experienced many transformations and variations. One sees it above all in Samogitia again and again, in villages, at crossroads, by trees in the forests. It seems as if just this figure of the sorrowing Christ with the crown of thorns, who rests Himself, exhausted, His head supported in His hand, His elbow on His knee, particularly expresses the contemplative nature of the Lithuanian peasant and has attained an individual form from the sorrow of a people over centuries-long slavery and from the melancholy of the landscape. This sculpture as no other has inspired the carvers to individual creation and has attained inner animation. At times a really unearthly mood speaks from it, which shows how deeply the artist lost himself in his idea. (*)

(*) Cf. on this point the poem of Putinas-Mykolaitis.

Lithuanian wood sculpture did not take over and elaborate all the pictorial subjects which came from the West. To be sure, the number of saints which are represented is very great, but /123/ certain favorite motifs return again and again. Besides those already named there are St. John of Nepomuk, always in clerical robes with a

532 skullcap, in his right hand a crucifix, in his left a palm branch--St. Anthony, in monk's garb, in his left hand a crucifix, in his right hand a lily as the symbol of innocence--very seldom St. Kazimir, in royal robes with a crown on his head, in his hands a cross and a lily--more frequently St. Rokhus. Since the wood carver borrowed the features from the men of his surroundings, we occasionally meet, along with pure Lithuanian types, Russian and Tatar types also. The female saints frequently wear the Sunday dress of the Lithuanian peasant women. Especially often we see St. Barbara with a crown on her head, in her right hand a sword, in her left hand a chalice with the Host; and St. Katharina, at her left the wheel on which she was bound at the command of Emperor Maxentius; also Saints Anna and Agatha. The latter is always represented with a loaf of bread in her hand. Her veneration seems to go back to non-Christian origins, for the bread consecrated to her, which is carefully preserved throughout the year, brings help in case of fire and is carried around the burning farm.

The figures of these saints are frequently housed in groups in the little chapels of the roofed crosses, sometimes more than ten figures next to each other. There are also others for whose placement particular locations are favored: St. John of Nepomuk at bridges, John the Baptist with Christ at rivers and lakes, St. Isidore in the fields, or St. Florian near city houses which he is supposed to protect from fire. (37) John of Nepomuk and John the Baptist are both joined together by the people under the name Joneliai (plural of the intimate form for John).

Like the wood sculptures of all peoples the Lithuanian ones are painted--especially for pro-

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37. A. Rukštelē, op. cit., p. 84.

tection against the weather--and from this they often obtain a peculiar charm. But /124/ the poor Lithuanian wood carver could not procure those expensive paints with which the South German artists decorated their sculptures. He had to be satisfied with what the merchant in the nearest little town offered him. Red, blue, white, green, even silver and gold are used, not always tastefully, but at times with a decided aesthetic feeling and sense of the effect of colors.

Thus these sculptures are very uneven from the point of view of their artistic value. We know some that one can compare easily with those of the West, and which one almost does not want to attribute to a simple peasant, and also others to which the words of the pious bishop still apply today--whose faces are distorted and hardly human. But the best of these village artists have always worked out of an inner vocation, and their creations have arisen from a longing for higher spirituality. What we know of the artists themselves, is not much. The few God-carvers whom we know are pious old people, often eccentrics. They do not belong to the wealthy of the village; their work does not yield profit. When they finally close their eyes, they will hardly leave any successors, for their art, too, is disappearing, as the crosses decay which are their witnesses.

### 3. Woodcuts and Paintings

In very close relationship to the village sculpture stands an area of artistic activity which is hardly known to wider circles and even less appreciated--the peasant woodcut. It, too, goes back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Its models were altar and church paintings, above all however those little pictures of saints which were distributed from Vilna as copper etchings and usually represented copies of famous paintings, such as the Crucifixion of Dürer, the St. Katharina of Rubens, and many others. The creator of such woodcuts favored above all /125/ representations of miracle-working saints, which were eagerly bought by the peasants at great indulgence festivals. Thus this art, too, stand exclusively in the service of the religious idea.

The Škapliernikai of the church villages, who produced and sold these simple woodcuts, used for their work very soft wood--usually linden--since their only tool was a knife. The board was smoothed and then received a coating of chalk or wax. Now the portions which were to remain white on the paper were cut out of the wood, while the actual drawing was carved in relief. The figures received a strong contour line; shadows were produced by a simple stroke technique. The woodcuts were printed without the aid of any sort of press, simply by hand. Thus, as Galaunē stresses, their technique can be compared only with the German individual woodcuts of the fifteenth century, and as a matter of fact Germany was the sponsor of this technique in Lithuania. Since the prints were made on ordinary paper and the coloring was done with inks of very little permanence, hardly any old originals have been preserved. But the number of subjects as well as their popularity among the people speaks for their wide distribution. Their popularity is proved by the fact mentioned by Galaunē, (38) that after the emergence of lithography in

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38. Cf. for the section on the village woodcuts and paintings, Galaunē, op. cit., pp. 231-238, as well as the literature referred to there. Further: P. Galaunē, Lietuvių liaudies raižinių katalogas (Catalogue of the Woodcuts of Lithuanian Folk Art) (Kaunas, 1927), as well as the pertinent chapter in A. Rukštelē loc. cit., pp. 41-48.

Germany the best-loved of the Lithuanian woodcuts were lithographed there and exported to Lithuania. A reprinting in Warsaw, in 1921, of the blocks available there--nearly all the blocks were taken to Warsaw by Polish connoisseurs--contains 42 Lithuanian woodcuts and 24 Polish woodcuts of a similar style.

The home of the Lithuanian woodcut is the province of Samogitia. Here even existed in Kalvarija even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, a school where one could learn this art, which was practiced in the country town Dar̃bēnai up to the middle of the century. All but a few of the names of the producers /126/ of these woodcuts are today forgotten. From the middle of the century on, the village woodcut was supplanted by industrially produced lithographs and chromolithographs, which we find today in every farmhouse.

Just as the village sculptures, the old woodcuts, as we can see in those examples that have been preserved, deviated sometimes quite far from the religious models. And in this characteristic transformation lies also their significance for Lithuanian folk art. Often the carvers left out parts of the original model in order to put in their place familiar patterns, often even stylizations of plants and trees. We find even independent groupings of saints in some woodcuts. Everything that was said in the section on village sculpture concerning standardization of expression, proportions, and means of representation applies also to the woodcuts. Since the laws of perspective were not known to the woodcut makers, they created their figures on a double plane, placing those figures which were supposed to stand in the foreground on top of the other figures. The background of the pictures is uniform, often enlivened by small ornaments.

Concerning the artistic value of these wood-

532 cuts, too, practically the same can be said as about the sculptures: along with very primitive imitations there are those of great beauty and subtlety of interpretation. From a cultural point of view they are of interest in the way artistic impressions coming from the outside world are taken up and transferred to a completely different plane of feeling and expression through a peasant interpretation which is basically inadequate for them.

Along with these woodcuts there was also developed in Lithuania, in the nineteenth century, a type of peasant religious painting, of which a few pieces have been preserved. They, too--insofar as they are not simple copies of church paintings--reveal a fresh naivete of feeling and deep faith. Thus in one of these pictures the eye /127/ of God is represented, framed by clouds. Out of these clouds two hands reach down to earth, from one of which seed falls upon the field, while the other blesses two kneeling men with bread. A landscape with a few trees provides the background. From this picture, which is not associated with any model--and in this, to be sure, represents an exception--speaks a thoroughly independent interpretation of great charm.

The peasant artist usually had at his disposal only two or three colors. In most cases he first completed the drawing and then painted it in. Through the influence of time the colors have greatly changed, so that many of these pictures exhibit quite singular tones.

Unfortunately only a very short span of development was allotted to this kind of religious painting in Lithuania. It was destroyed by the same technique to which also the village woodcuts fell victim.

The areas of religious folk art in Lithuania treated thus far have only in the last few years

532 been to any greater extent. This happened in connection with the emergence of a new nationalism which is intent at tracing the spiritual forces of its own country as they are manifested in folk art and folk customs--on the other hand through the development of expressionism, whose representatives created mood and suggestive animation out of the art of the primitive. All external phenomena are reduced by expressionism to the last degree of their simplicity. External experiences yield to inner spiritual phenomena. Thus it is no wonder that the products of Lithuanian folk art, above all the peasant wood sculptures, at the international art exhibition in Monza, in 1925, had an unusual success. It was precisely the contrast between the naivete of presentation and the power of their expression which found understanding appreciation and recognition.

/128/ The expressionistic elements mentioned by us are characteristic not only of the area of religious folk art which we have treated so far. They are manifested with equal strength in the secular areas of peasant art. We have thus come to the extensive field of handicraft, which has been independently developed in Lithuania in the manifold forms of wood carving, weaving, pottery, decorative painting, and many others, and whose products have found loving appreciation and recognition especially among German artists and scholars.

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## 4. The Home and in the Village

### Woodwork, Ceramics, Ironwork, Decorative Painting

In considering these branches of folk art, too, we must proceed first from wood carving, for the forest gave the Lithuanian from olden times everything which he needed for his life in the way of household articles--from the wicker cradle to the towering cross in his cemetery.

If he gave to the laboriously carved object a special beauty, a characteristic ornamentation, he raised it thus above the ordinary and gave it its own stamp and individual significance. In his already mentioned essay, (39) the East Prussian poet Alfred Brust writes concerning this woodwork: "The center of gravity of creative art in Lithuania has rested in handicrafts. Especially in the wooden objects of practical use an expressionistic spirit of joy and satisfaction is felt. Although very much of this home art has been lost through fire in the war, there are in the farms of remote villages still a quantity of beautiful objects which, if shown in an exhibition, would leave a deep impression among the connoisseurs. Chests, tubs, and mortars of every variety attest to great artistic /Unnumbered page with illustration--Bell Tower in the District of Telšiai/ /129/ industry, and pine-chip holders of deceptive primitiveness betray an excellent taste for a unified pattern in household articles."

The strong artistic force which speaks from these peasant articles of everyday use has also directed to itself the attention of many other artists; I may name among others Prof. Buhe and Prof. von Osterroth. Above all it is the manner in which the Lithuanian ornamentation grows out of the object itself with absolute artistic logic. Hans Heinrich Schaeder speaks of this in an essay written with great love; (40) "The whole creative activity of the Lithuanian is a unity, and rooted in the deepest foundations of his soul. Thus it comes about that every individual part of his life's utterances is basically

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39. Alfred Brust, cf. note 21.

40. Heinrich Schaeder, loc. cit., p. 62.

531/ 322 bound to every other and seeks a relationship to the totality of his life. He does not have the intention of decorating the objects which he makes for his use, but lets the ornaments, the arabesques, sprout out of them with no less necessity than that with which a plant produces the blossom out of itself. Thus there is no handicraft among the Lithuanians; whether he weaves a belt or applies colors to the shell of an egg--always it is the truly artistic instinct that moves him. All these things have the direct effectiveness of great art."

Still a fourth person may be mentioned in this regard, the founder of the Kaunas City Museum, the old Tadas Daugirdas (Thaddäus von Dowgird), who was not only an eccentric, but also an artist, and from whom stems the characteristic saying: "The Lithuanian does not make, he creates. To make is nothing; to create is everything."

Thereby the nature of Lithuanian household art is clearly enough paraphrased: out of a creative imagination, bound by inherited traditions, originated the forms and decorative motifs of the wooder household objects as well as the patterns and colors of those colorful ribbons and aprons which will occupy us at the end of this chapter.

/130/ The ornaments which decorate the practical objects of the peasant household contain no hidden symbolism. In part they are the same geometrical forms that we already have encountered in another place. They resulted from the technique of lines and nothces which were primarily used in such articles as come frequently in contact with water, like the wash paddles which the Lithuanian peasant woman still uses today for her laundry. The most beautiful objects, however, are executed in deep carving, or the ornament is completely cut out, as we see it, for example, in towel racks, and thereby developed into some-

322 thing of their own. We find as ornaments rosettes,
531 stars, and wavy lines, interrupted and lozenge
frets, also stylized plant patterns--though less
often--on chests, dishes, platters, canes, etc.
On spindles and distaffs, on the other hand, the
favorite ornament is the circle divided into six
segments, the ancient symbol of the sun, whose
production presents only little difficulty and
therefore is often repeated. Only on coat racks
do animal forms appear, taken from nature, primarily birds. Splendidly carved towel and spoon
racks, knives, forks, and spoons, shuttles and
whetstone holders, boxes and caskets, even carved
flasks show great technical skill and artistic
manipulation. Only in rare cases does an object
of household use remain without ornamentation.
[354] The old žibintuvas, the pine chip holder, an
often very beautifully carved frame holding the
chips that illuminated the work room, is today
[533] found only in museums as is the kanklēs, the
ancient zither-like instrument of the Lithuanians,
which is also richly carved, and which today has
awakened to a new life. (41) In all of these
patterns sways an inner rhythm that attests to an absolute feeling for style. One should also never overlook the fact that these objects were created only for personal pleasure or for the pleasure of people to whom they were given--as perhaps by a youth to a maid. Thus they maintained the charm of the personal and direct and also the value of uniqueness.

/131/ In view of this joy in the ornamentation of practical objects it is almost astonishing not to find furniture decorated with carving in the

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[113] 41. On the development of the kanklēs cf. the basic work of the Swedish Professor Tobias Norlind, Bidrag Till Kantelens Historia (Särtryck ur Rig, 1923).

531 Lithuanian village--be they peasant beds, tables 532 or benches. Here rules rather a peculiar sobriety, which is to be explained only by the fact that there has never been a bourgeois culture in the Western sense of the term in this country, formerly a part of Russia. But this seems under any circumstances to be a prerequisite to a rural residential culture.

[438] A home industry bringing artistically worked wooden objects onto the market did not formerly exist in Lithuania. Quite in contrast to Germany, for example, folk art, although reaching such height of expression, did not produce a national [369] handicraft. Neither was this art developed into a handicraft in the countryside--this was opposed by the peasant's home economy--nor was the city handicraft--we may think, for example, of the interior furnishings of the city church--stimulated by it. The reasons for this will be discussed in the chapter on the intellectual culture of the city.[1]* We speak, therefore, quite intentionally in this regard of a home culture. Only in recent times has a handicraft arisen in Lithuania on a national basis, such as Daugirdas aspired even before the World War.

000 There is no question that the rich store of forms of the Lithuanian home art offers a favorable soil for the development of an independent handicraft. To be sure, modern Lithuanian handicraft, as it is promoted, for example, by the trade schools, the orphanages, and similar institutions, is still today trying to develop its own avenues. This development is not without danger, for not every path leads to the goal. We see here at times efforts simply to take over Western forms and give up the indigenous ones; this would be an unfortunate break with the Lithuanians' own independently developed, /132/ tradition. On the other hand, attempts at transferring directly to wooden furniture and wooden objects the primitive weaving patterns

* [cat. 116, pp. 145-195--Analyst]

600 which were conditioned precisely by the technique
of weaving must destroy the inner relationship be-
tween object and ornament. Burned or carved juostos
on wooden book covers are warning examples. Never-
theless we do meet individual personalities who by
their own artistic power accomplish in this area
exemplary results; we may think for example of the
modern weaving of the Bagnickaitē.

323 Compared to the products of a highly dev-
531 eloped art of woodwork, those of Lithuanian cera-
mics are far inferior. Here predominate the prim-
itive stroke, line, zigzag, and ribbon patterns,
which are pressed into the clay with a stone or a
splinter of wood, and which hardly differ from the
patterns of the clay shards from the Old Prussian
graves. In addition we find painted vessels. In
recent times various attempts have been made to
renew the technique of glazed painting on platters,
dishes, pitchers, and vases, which has almost been
forgotten today.

The forms of the pots are in general not
very individual. This is probably connected with
the fact that until recently the Lithuanian made
his pots, too, of wood or bark, while pottery for
a long time lay mostly in the hands of Jewish
artists. We find here a retrogression composed to
earlier times, for at the art exhibition "Vilna-
Minsk" of 1918 there was among the exhibitod tiles
a special piece from a very old period which came
from Panevēžys and was noteworthy in that it re-
presented the Mother of God in the native costume.
531 Nevertheless this seems to have been an exception,
327 for in general ceramics experienced no strong art-
istic development among the Lithuanian people--
quite in contrast to iron work, which has been
briefly dealt with in the paragraph on roofed
crosses.[1] Almost every one of these high crosses
ends in a /133/ second, smaller, ironwork cross,
which is attached to the other with a thorn. These

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 124-133 -- Analyse]

327 iron pieces are of unusual grace and lightness.
531 They rise in a rhythmic upswing and repeat the theme of the symbolic ornamentation in their own language. Rosettes, flowers, sun, moon, and all the other symbols of the early pagan period awaken in them to a new life, and so great is the diversity of forms that among hundreds of these products of ironwork hardly one resembles another. This high development of form appears especially striking in a country which has no iron supply of its own. Perhaps just for that reason iron was valued as an especially precious metal, for it was worked almost exclusively for such decorative forms. In the daily life of the people it was not able to supplant wood. Therefore, apart from metal work on doors and windows and a very few practical articles of wrought iron, almost nothing has been preserved from olden times. The fact that the art of ironwork, too--insofar as it was art at all--satisfied only the religious need for ornamentation has made it today into a dying branch of the old Lithuanian village art.

531 Unfortunately, the same also applies to the
352 use of colored ornament and decorative painting of practical objects which was earlier practised in the country. The "colorful little windows" of which the old dainos sing have become rare, and beautifully painted chests have been relegated to museums. In Samogitia they were decorated with strong and heavy colors; in the northeast of the country, on the other hand, probably under Slavic influence, with light and lively colors. (42) In the chests that are preserved, principally bridal chests, the predominant ornament is the lily; in addition we find other flowers and leaf patterns, sometimes in imaginative stylizations--also occasionally birds, primarily those which wear rich

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42. A. Rukštelē, see above, p. 42.

531/352 decorative colors in nature. On the other hand, any representation of human life, /134/ so dear to Poles and Russians, is lacking. From the darkly toned background the colors are set in relief forcefully and without transitions--green and yellow; white and red; green, violet, and yellow--and in still other combinations, which always speak of a sure feeling for colors. In their total impression these chests, in spite of the liveliness of their colorings, have a calm effect. Nevertheless the few examples of this art which I have so far seen seem to me not to express shat I should like to consider the truly characteristic feature of coloring in Lithuanian folk art--the creative force of the colors. This can become truly effective only where it no longer stands in the service of drawing, but makes the surface itself subordinate, as in the flow of the colorful patterns of the Lithuanian decorative ribbons or in the margučiai, the Easter eggs.

531/776 The Lithuanian margučiai (marginti--to decorate in colors) exhibit the same stylized ornamentation in a state of stability that is fluidly shaped in the juostos--leaves, flowers, geometrical figures in infinitely changing form--but here it is the color which brings it forth, which becomes an end in itself, and which controls and fashions the surface. It is precisely in the margučiai that one can observe how the nature of the complementary colors is fully grasped. The extent of the oval is seen as a unit and only rarely divided into segments. The loving investigator and collector of these little works of art, Tadas Daugirdas, has written some interesting things concerning this branch of folk art. (43) He relied

[113] 43. Thaddäus von Dowgird, "Margutschai--die litauischen Ostereier," Kownoer Zeitung, 1917.

531 796 on a large amount of material including 4,700 colored ornaments and samples which he had collected in the whole area of European Russia and East Germany as far as the Riesengebirge. The egg is indeed celebrated by many peoples as the symbol of awakening life in nature. The custom of artistically painting Easter eggs is known not only in Lithuania but also in other countries, above all in Poland, and probably the Lithuanians took it over from the Poles but developed it further in their own way.

/135/According to the investigations of Daugirdas, the Lithuanian Easter eggs, the most beautiful examples of which are to be found along the central and lower course of the Memel as far as Schmalleningken, differ from the Polish primarily in their calmer colors. On these subdued colors the decorative drawing frequently has an especially beautiful effect. The eggs are cooked, dipped in the coloring--plant colorings are used--and the pattern is scratched in. In contrast to this the Poles paint the projected pattern on the raw egg with fluid wax, and employ for this a little wooden stick which is split at the end and provided with a little narrow metal tube. The eggs are dipped into a lighter, cold coloring solution. They are called pisanki. After drying, wax is again applied to the spots which are to remain lighter, and the egg is dipped into a darker coloring solution. This process is repeated various times with darker and darker colors, so that the egg finally obtains the most varied color patterns and ornaments. At the end the egg is cooked and the layer of wax is dissolved. The Lithuanians employ this process less often, and usually only with two colors.

"The making of the margučiai," says Daugirdas, "is almost exclusively the work and artistic province of the Lithuanian girl, more seldom of the married woman. The eggs are colored on Easter

531 Saturday, but not scratched until Sunday afternoon;
796 making them earlier is considered a sin." The Lithuanian Easter eggs, too, are hardly ever sold in the market. They are gifts of the godparents or the mother for the children and tokens for friends and for the clergy of the town. While the neighboring Letts know only eggs of one color, the Lithuanian margučiai are already attested in the sixteenth century. At the present time the old custom has remained alive primarily in the district of Trakai.

286 Weaving and Related Techniques

That Lithuanian folk art--we may think of the folk song or of the grave crosses, or of any branch at all--forms a unity in its innermost nature and /136/ has created an artistic style of its own, has been pointed out by many critics. The sphere of this art comprises the whole life of a rural culture with a rare compactness; one thing is related to the other, and as the last field, the village art of weaving harmoniously joins this circle.

Flax, harvested in one's own field, spun on one's own spinning wheel, woven on a peasant loom, has been a familiar material in Lithuania since very olden times. Connected with its processing was the song, whose rhythm followed the movement of the loom, and whose words extolled the weavers who knew how to weave fine patterns. Thus in this art there is nothing foreign; it does not rest in the hands of a few--every girl, every woman in the villages still knows it today. And old women still know today that ancient art of spinning where the flax wrapped around a distaff is spun off with the aid of a spindle which the spinner turns with her hand.

286 The colors, too, with which the threads
386 were dyed, were originally quite natural. They were produced from earth, iron ore, plants, birch

286 386 leaves, oak and alder bark, and the method was guarded as a family secret. Their production was very laborious. The plants were broken up and cooked with the thread; the ashes of the plants were used as a stain. Always only the thread was dyed, never the finished fabric. Thus one obtained serene colors of unlimited durability. Aprons a hundred years old exhibit a quiet brilliance which is still enchanting today. Although the natural colors have gradually been supplanted by modern aniline colors, knowledge of the old coloring technique is still preserved in many peasant families.

286 301 531 The use of colors change. Brown, blue, and red were probably the oldest colors. To them was added green. The pattern originated on a white background. We can best recognize the Lithuanian interpretation of color in the juostos, those colorful decorative ribbons which /137/ serve as ribbons for belts and aprons, as fastenings of fur coats, and as decorations for the girls. They are distributed across the whole country, but show provincial differences both in the colors and in the patterns and techniques. Their coloration is analyzed in a fine manner by Karl Brammer: (44)

[113] 44. Karl Brammer, "Litauische Webereien," Litauenbuch, loc. cit., p. 52.

"The nature of complementary colors is grasped here with astonishing sureness; an error never occurs. Red and greenish blue, orange and cyanic blue, greenish yellow and violet are placed next to each other in striking fashion. Furthermore the skillful use of white with opposite colors has a very fine effect. From the use of red and yellow on a black background (*) it can be clearly be seen

* The latter occurs only very rarely. V.J.

that the relationship between dark and brilliant

301 colors is also very well known. Joy in an abundence
286 of colors indeed exists among the Lithuanians, but
531 not loud joy in loud, bright colors as among the Poles; rather, the nature of color is here much more deeply and clearly comprehended." In addition it may be noted that coloration in the Lithuanian weaving has undergone a development in the course of time--above all in the technique, which on the one hand considerably increased the number of available colors and on the other enhanced their brilliance. We can recognize this when we compare, for example, the thoroughly simple coloration of the oldest ribbons and aprons known to us with that of a later period. This means, however, no lessening of the value of the later colorful weaving patterns; and above all Brammer is right when he lays the principal weight on the sensitivity of the color composition. But just this sensitivity could only later unfold itself to full expression.

An actually inspired hymn to the colorful juostos is sung by another German artist, who was also brought to Lithuania by the World War: Hans Heinrich Schaeder. He writes: "The color is here still freer, since it is liberated from consideration of the body, the three-dimensional space, /138/ and lives only for the surface. The surface is infinitely delicate like the soft material of the ribbons; the color slings to it. One does not grasp the fact that here colorful threads are woven together; did not these patterns grow like flowers under a rising and setting sun? All the secrets and longings of the Lithuanian soul are hidden in these ribbons. These wonderful, serene colors, were they not subdued by the tears of the woman who did the weaving? This melody of lines and colored surfaces, is it not intimately related to the infinite sweetness of the Lithuanian songs?"(45)

45. Heinrich Schaeder, op. cit., p. 64.

In earlier times the juostos were never put

531
286 on the market. Women and girls gave them to those
301 whom they loved. On an old juosta the beginning
[431] of a little yearning love song is woven in. A
woven dedication mentioned by Kurschat (1911)
reads:

> I wove as I was able to, I gave it to
> whom I wanted.
> But I always believed that my beloved
> should receive it.

Thus these ribbons often speak of a rare tenderness of feeling, and their colorful patterns seem illuminated by longing and love, by fate and sorrow. In many ribbons there were also, as Otto Glagau (1869) informs us, mottoes in English and French whose meaning the peasant girls naturally didn't know, but which remained preserved in certain families and were always imitated anew. Here, to be sure, we have forms of a later development, just as the occasional use of metal threads goes back to the influence of the Lyon silk industry in the eighteenth century. Otherwise one used in an earlier period only threads of flax, wool, and hemp; the use of silk, on the other hand, has arisen only in most recent times. Frequently these silk juostos are sold today as binders or crocheted together as table runners, but in the villages these uses are unknown.

The production of the juostos proceeds in three different ways. We know pintinēs, austinēs, and kaišytinēs--/139/ i.e. a braiding, a weaving, and a darning technique. The oldest of them is the braiding technique, which is still practised in the north of the province of Aukschtaiten in the districts of Zarasai, Panevēžys, and Ukmergē, though it has become quite rare. (46) The threads are laid over a board and then braided, beginning

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46. A. Rukštelē, loc. cit., pp. 22-23 and 46.

1[juostos, i.e. colorful ribbons -- Analyst]

286 531 301 from the middle. Thus result two parts in which the same pattern begins at the middle and runs toward the outer edges. The ribbons thus produced, which can be well stretched, are especially wide. They usually contain a simple pattern of different stripes which cross each other. Their production no more demands equipment than that of the woven ribbons (juostos austinēs), which today are the most familiar types and are distributed over all of Lithuania. The weaver ties the colorful wool threads from which the juosta will be made to a hook on the wall with one end, with the other to her belt, after she has wound the threads around a little stick and laid them parallel in such a way that half of the threads are on top and half on the bottom. Thus the warp is formed. With a shuttle in her hand the weaver pulls the cross threads--the so-called woof--through the lengthwise threads according to the pattern, and pushes each cross thread against the other with a kind of wooden folder [Falzbein]. The most difficult part is the stretching out of the pattern.(46)

46. A. Rukštelē, op. cit., pp. 22-23 and 46.

In contrast to these woven ribbons, the third, the darning technique (juostos kaišytinēs), has today become about as rare as the braiding technique. Its home is the Suvalkijan area. In the darning technique the colored threads that produce the pattern are pulled through by hand. During the weaving itself, the colorful pattern is embroidered in and pulled fast with the next turn. This technique, for which the weaver needs a little hand loom, "represents considerable progress in the Lithuanian ribbon technique, brought about by the increased use of stylized flowers as weaving patterns, /140/ whose imitation would encounter insurmountable difficulties in the juostos austinēs (woven ribbons)." (47)

286 (woven ribbons)." (47)

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47. Johanna Behr-Heyder, Cologne, "Litauische Volkskunst," Leipziger Ill. Zeitung, November 8, 1917, p. 10.

In analyzing the weaving patterns, which are almost exclusively of a geometrical nature, it is in most cases overlooked that the technique of weaving alone had of itself to lead to specific patterns. Certainly the many terms used today were given them only much later, names supplied by all kinds of visible things of the surroundings--the duck, the cuckoo, the hoopoe, the window, the broom, the rose, the fir tree, even the goat's hoof, and many others. That from the technique of weaving many similarities arose with peoples separated in space and time, is thus only natural. From the great variety of designs results the tremendous richness of this ornamentation, especially since the patterns occur in the most varied combinations. To discuss them in more detail is forbidden by the scope of this presentation, but there are certainly many hundreds of patterns.

While in western Lithuania decorative weaving is not so strongly cultivated--apart from Palanga, where primarily juostos with star and flower patterns are favored--the whole abundance of this colored ornamentation is concentrated in the area of Suvalkija, above all in the districts
29 of Marijampolē and Vilkaviškis. This area is
53 also the home of the famous tulip pattern and of
286 the colorful Lithuanian decorative aprons. Simple aprons are known also in the region of Zanavykai and Zarasai as well as in the province of Dzūkija, while in Samogitia they are completely lacking. Nowhere, however, is the coloration unfolded so subtly and the ornamentation to such a richness as in Suvalkija. On a brown, blue, red, or green background the ornament grows like a precious flower. Perhaps the most beautiful of these patterns, the tulip stylized in the most varied forms,

286 goes back to some symbolic representation, especially since the tulip itself was an unknown flower 531 in Lithuania. The /141/ stylization has progressed 291 so far here that practically only the term has remained. The tulip pattern is repeated on these aprons in a continuous scrollwork, or in fours in a square, or also in combination with characteristically stylized scrolls and leaves.

Galaunē says concerning these aprons: "They are known only in the province of Suvalkija and here and there in the sections of the Vilna area bordering on Suvalkija. They form here a kind of oasis, whose origins we are unable to trace today because of the lack of almost any data. This oasis is so self-contained that its influence has hardly spread in any direction. Ribbons similar to our juostos are found among a large number of our close and more distant neighbors, but the aprons with the tulip pattern woven in are completely unknown elsewhere." (48) It may be added that the High Lithuanians make only white woven aprons with red cross-stripes at the bottom end, while the aprons of the Low Lithuanians (Samogitians), also white, exhibit red lengthwise stripes.

The weaving technique for the Suvalkija decorative aprons is similar to that for the juostos kaišytinēs; they are woven on the loom, and the pattern is set in during the weaving from colorful wool threads, so that it appears as if embroidered. Nothing certain can be said about age and origin of these aprons. We know only that the oldest of those now existing go back to the second half of the eighteenth century. Perhaps, as Galaunē assumes, they once had a symbolic significance and symbolized innocence and virtue. And perhaps they were so beautifully fashioned because they had no practical purpose to serve. (49) In Prussian

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48. P. Galaunē, op. cit., p. 262.

49. p. 266.

286 Lithuania they were in any case not known and
531 according to Vydūnas were only taken over from
[291] later immigrants. (50) Much of the beautiful Lithuanian decorative weaving is found today in the churches as altar covers, the ribbons as ornamentation on the alms bag.

As with all settled peoples, so among the Lithuanians a rural art of rug weaving--as /142/ is customarily developed among nomadic tribes as a folk art--did not exist in earlier times. The rugs and bedspreads woven today in the countryside, which are usually of one color and are frequently found in city houses, are of more recent origin. They borrow their manifold square circle or lozenge patterns from the heavy linen weaving which the peasant woman makes for her practical use. To set off the pattern in color either bleached linen is woven in together with unbleached, or a difference of tone is gained by weaving in hemp or cotton. These patterns, too, are beautiful and of great ornamental richness. From the point of view of age they represent the oldest Lithuanian weaving patterns. We find them in the coarse woolen towels as well as in the tablecloths that are laid out on festive occasions in the peasant houses. The hand towels are often decorated with artistic cross-stitch work, usually in red, primarily the decorative towels that do not serve for daily use. They formerly hung on the richly carved hand towel racks and are given only to guests to use. Their ends are formed by peculiarly braided lace, knotted by hand from the end threads of the weave. This is a very old technique that is still

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[113] 50. Vydūnas, Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart (Tilsit, 1916). Emma Dethlefsen, "Über litauische Volkstrachten in Ostpreussen," Blätter für Heimatkunde und Heimatschutz, Vol. 3, Nos. 1 and 2.

286 531 practised today by the shepherd girls of the country. Crocheted lace is in general rarer; nevertheless among prosperous farmers we often find decorative crocheting and openwork on beautiful and valuable bed linen.

291 Gloves and stockings are firmly and closely knitted in several colors, the various threads being carried along on the reverse side. They frequently make their way to Germany, where they appear on the handicraft market as "Swedish" gloves. The most varied-colored ornaments are knitted in, dots and stars, together with flower patterns, and occasionally also animal patterns. [431] These gay and strong gloves with their bright colors often serve as gifts, and the priest is always presented with them on his winter "calender journeys." In contrast /143/ to other handicrafts, in which, as we saw, old patterns are frequently used in a not so successful manner, their borrowing from the weaving technique in the modern knitted handiwork has an organic and altogether charming effect.

[292] In the Lithuanian folk costume, too, particularly as it has been awakened to new life after the first World War, art and taste are shown: the long colored pleated coat, the colorful bodice, the white shirt with the long embroidered sleeves--everything breathes cheerfulness and joy in colors (see the title picture).*

Therewith is closed the circle which embraces the Lithuanian folk art in all its branches. Many things could be only briefly touched, since the various older and more recent techniques of knotting, crocheting, and knitting can be described only with difficulty.

286 462 The whole realm of weaving with all its related techniques is exclusively the domain of the woman, while the man has chosen for himself those areas which above all demanded bodily strength or because of the size of the objects did not attract

*[Title picture was not included in HRAF reproduction -- Analyst]

286 the woman. And perhaps it is due precisely to the
artistic intuition and the more sensitive sense
462 of color of the woman that her creations unfold a
quite special richness in color and ornamentation
in the fields of the small handicrafts. /Unnumbered
page with illustration--Old Peasant Woodcut/

/145/ Chapter Four

## The Spiritual Culture of the City

113 /Unnumbered note on Chapter Four/ A comprehensive presentation of the development of Lithuanian architecture does not so far exist. A brief sketch of the architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is given by K. Jasenas in Vol. III, No. 5 of his Visuotinē meno istorija (General History of Art), where we also find practically the only information on Lithuanian castle structures. An appreciation of the architect Vl. Dubeneckis, the builder of the Vytautas Museum, the art school, the state theater, and other public buildings, is given by P. Galaunē in Vol. I of the almanac Prošvaistē (1937). In addition, the valuable monograph by the same author, Vilniaus meno mokykla, 1793-1831 (The Art School of Vilna) (Kaunas, 1928), should be mentioned. Also, the presentation of Lithuanian painting, sculpture, and music is so far limited to sketches and separate articles. (Cf. for example Galaunē, l'Art Lithuanien (1934); Jasenas, History of Art, III, 8, with carefully selected illustrations; etc.)

### A. The Architecture

181 1. Historical Preliminaries

The investigation of the cultural elements of Lithuanian national life led us to the conclusion

181 that we have here a rounded-off and self-contained culture. Such a culture never originates through a random accumulation of human beings, but always through a nation. In our case this culture was a typical peasant culture.

369 A combination of the most varied historical
565 circumstances, which cannot be gone into in this
162 context, led to the result that the Lithuanian settling in villages and individual farms has
563 found his way to the city only in most recent times and is beginning to imprint his own stamp on it.

The cultural upper class which determined the face of the Lithuanian city in the past centuries has changed in the course of time. Little is known concerning the city's earliest inhabitants.(1)

In the fourteenth century Grand Duke Gediminas summoned German artisans and tradesmen into the country. (2) There followed the Hanse, which had an office in Kaunas. About the same time the Jews made their entrance and completely changed the city picture. Confined to the border provinces by Russian legislation in later centuries they also /146/ gave their stamp to the Lithuanian provincial cities before the first World War. Accord-

[113] 1. A. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes," Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 26. "Cities existed only sparsely and, like Vilna, founded in 1321, has probably more foreign than Lithuanian inhabitants."

[113] 2. On the history of the Hanse in Lithuania cf. Walther Stein, "Vom deutschen Kontor in Kowno," Hansische Geschichtsblätter, 1916, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1 and 2, as well as the references given there.

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565
563
[113]

ing to Ljubawski and Lithuanian cities of the sixteenth century were already overcrowded with Jews(3)

The third city element, however, the Poles--as the upper class--at first assimilated the Lithuanian country population which moved in. Even in the nineteenth century a Lithuanian upper class still could not be formed in the cities of the country, since Russian legislation forbade the Lithuanians to occupy any official positions in their own country. Thus--by the irony of history--the first nucleus of an educated Lithuanian bourgeoisie arose in the cities of inner Russia, where the prohibition did not apply. In place of its own officialdom the land received Russian officials and garrisons, whose religious edification was taken care of by the state in this Roman Catholic country with the erection of Orthodox churches.

The World War finally ended this development through the founding of the Lithuanian state. All at once there is a city class educated abroad and now back home, which, though, not numerous, includes all professions, even artists and scholars. In addition a strong immigration from the countryside set in, for suddenly numerous possibilities to make a living in the cities, in officialdom, in

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3. Cf. on this point Ljubawski, Oblastnoe dielenie i miestnoe upravlenie Litovski-Russkago gosydarstva ko vremeni izdaniia pervago Litovskago statuta (Districting and Local Administration of the Lithuanian-Russian State at the Time of the Issuance of the First Lithuanian Statute), as well as S. A. Berschadski, Litovski evrei (The Lithuanian Jews) (1883). In recent times the history of Judaism experienced a detailed presentation in Prof. A. Janulaitis, Žydai Lietuvoje (The Jews in Lithuania) (Kaunas, 1923).

369 the military, and liberal professions, opened up
162 to the younger peasant generation. An initially
565 favorable economic development encouraged this
563 influx, which again completely changed the face
of the city: the city of Kaunas alone doubled its
population in a few years. In all areas a lively
activity is being unfolded; along with material
problems intellectual ones, literature, art, music,
theater, science, are suddenly factors in the life
of the people.

341 Knowledge of the development sketched here*
121 is essential for the understanding of what follows.
It might seem, that is, as if a presentation of the
cultural elements of the Lithuanian people would
have to be restricted solely to this most recent
period of time, insofar as the city is concerned.
/147/ The historic architecture of the city would
then be excluded from our treatment, since it does
not bear the stamp of the same racial type. This
is perhaps also the reason why until today there
is hardly a single Lithuanian presentation of the
historic structures of the country.

341 Nevertheless the present work must consider
the architecture of the Lithuanian city for various reasons: first of all it was the Lithuanian Grand Dukes, the high nobility, and the clergy who ordered the construction of churches and castles. Furthermore--we may think for example of classicism--the great artistic epochs are more or less international; and third, the baroque, the most important building style for Lithuania, exercised unquestionable influence on the Lithuanian folk art.

346 There are probably no foreigners visiting
177 the country to whom the great religious structures,
especially in Kaunas, would not be objects of attention and deliberation. The face of these buildings is clearly turned toward the West and not toward the Russian East. From the west came the Roman-Catholic faith, proclaimed by Benedictines, Dominicans, Cistercians, and other orders in the

*[see cat. 116, pp. 162-165--Analyst]

346 177 Gothic churches of the country. From the west the ideas of Lutheranism were imported, and, during the brief span of a half century, embraced by the high nobility of the country. From the West, finally, penetrated the mighty and imposing movement of the Counter Reformation, which strewed the magnificence of the baroque like precious flowers over the nordic land and won it back forever to the Roman church. Thus the history of the religious culture of the country is sealed within these buildings.

In contrast to the mighty religious witnesses of the Western spirit, what we encounter in Lithuania in the way of evidence of Eastern culture in architecture seems rather insignificant. The few monuments of Russian religious art speak the language of another spiritual world, which stands outside of the historic religious development of the country. /148/ Most of the Russian domed churches still existing today were built after the revolutions of the years 1830 and 1863, when the Russian government dispossessed Catholic monasteries and churches and summoned Russian monastic orders and settlers into the country. Monuments of Russian power politics, they were frequently erected on the most prominent points of the cities; we may think for example of the Russian cathedral in Kaunas, which today has become the Roman-Catholic garrison church. Erected in 1880, and constructed in a purely academic style, it makes up to a truly artistic organization by the massiveness of its forms. To be sure, seen from the mountain, it presents, through its location as the terminal point of the main street, its powerful contours fade in the fog, a picture that is not without its own charm, especially in the evening. For this reason, too, it probably escaped the fate of demolition which a number of the Russian churches in the provinces suffered after the departure of the Russian military and officials.

The cathedral of Kaunas is also characteristic of the rest of the Russian religious structures in the country, to which specific structural regulations applied since the middle of the nineteenth century. Here we meet the main aisle, the large central dome, and the little onion-shaped towers surrounding it (Christ and the four evangelists). There also appears the compact central construction, which, for example, in the church of Ukmergē found an exceptionally good architectonic solution. In general the Russian provincial churches still preserved today, which, when constructed of wood, partially resemble the Lithuanian log churches, lose style or artistic value when built of stone. The same applies to the solitary Mohammedan mosques. (4) On the other hand, among the wooden Jewish synagogues there are some noteworthy structures, which, primarily through the broken forms in which their roofs rise like pyramids, make a singular impression. The very old synagogue of Šaukēnai may be named here. That the Jewish synagogues have taken over much ornamental decoration from the Lithuanian folk art, is clearly /149/ proved by the synagogue of Jurbarkas (Georgenburg) on the Memel.

The religious structures of Judaism can only be briefly touched upon in this context, since the Jews in Lithuania have led the life of a strictly isolated minority for centuries and have remained without influence on the cultural development of the country. The latter was exclusively controlled by that great spiritual current which the church of the West sent out over the country in an uninterrupted stream since the late Middle Ages.

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4. The settlement of the Tatars, who have mostly become assimilated, goes back to Vytautas. About 700 Tatars still live today in the district of Alytus. Also in Kaunas they have their own unadorned mosque.

terrupted stream since the late Middle Ages.

346 177 2. Gothic

Almost the whole artistic energy of the Middle Ages spent itself in mighty religious structures. The Gothic cathedrals of France and Germany speak of freedom and bold, resplendent sublimity. They are symbols of soaring adoration of God in a period whose piety and mystical excitement penetrated all classes of society. But gradually this spirit hardened, and the style which it created also hardened in its strict architectonic constraint. In this period of late Gothic the art of the Middle Ages sent out its last offshoots toward Lithuania.

Measured on the buildings--including the secular buildings--of this period which exist in the Baltic, Lithuania plays a subordinate part, a 797 fact which is again historically conditioned: not until the year 1387 did High Lithuania embrace the Christian faith, and Low Lithuania (Samogitia) not until 1415. Now if we realize that the high period of the Gothic in Germany belonged in the fourteenth century, and the fifteenth century already was the period of the so-called late Gothic, it becomes evident why the influence of the Gothic in Lithuania was of lesser impact than that of later artistic styles. It must be mentioned, to be sure, that in Lithuania, as everywhere in the East, all styles--from Gothic through baroque to classicism--/150/ have held out longer than in the Western countries, so that one can actually speak of a 346 conservatism in Eastern architecture. Thus the Gothic St. Ann church in Vilna, whose charming facade, with its slender, rising pilasters through which the strong keel arch is laced, has often been admired, was not built until after 1500. The church of Simnas in the district of Alytus, too, built in 1520 and reconstructed in the wrong style in the eighteenth century, belongs, together with other provincial buildings, into the Gothic architectural period of Lithuania.

The Gothic style has been preserved in Lithuania only in its simplest forms. We find no magnificent portals, no gigantic towers. Only the heavy and constrained is fashioned here; the liberating movement and rhythmic organization of the Western cathedral is lacking. Numerous ravaging wars, fires, and reconstructions of later periods led to the further result that the original forms were often covered over and lost their real character. While the wooden church in the countryside hardly changed its style at all through centuries, the church construction in stone faithfully followed the formal changes of the Western styles, from late Gothic to the most recent time insofar as buildings for the Roman Catholic form of worship were concerned. In the provinces we still find Gothic churches today in Kedainiai (founded in 1403), in Šiauliai, and at Jonava on the Vilija. Among the buildings of the early period belongs further the charming little country church of Zapyškis, situated below Kaunas on the Memel. It was built shortly after the introduction of Christianity.

Nevertheless the traditional dates given in this connection for founding of the individual churches say nothing concerning the question whether the churches were already executed in stone at that time, or whether it was not at first perhaps a matter only of simple wood structures. With individual churches this seems in fact to have been the case. According to Cornelius Gurlitt, stone construction /151/ reached Lithuania only relatively late. To be sure, it was already employed in northeastern Germany in the twelfth century, although almost exclusively in the construction of churches. Prof. Paul Weber, who during the World War occupied the post of art curator for the occupied areas, dates the brick structures of the

346 Gothic churches in Kaunas between 1400 and 1500. Stone construction--even already in private houses--is documented in the privilege of the basilica of the year 1503; a far older stone construction is treated in detail in the inventory of the Kaunas deanery (sheet 15). In the same way we can probably regard as reliable the presentation, thoroughly based on sources, of Bishop Valenčius, who in his History of the Kaunas Churches, expressly stresses in discussing, among others, the Cistercian church (Seminary Church) that the oldest Cistercian church was built of wood, while the stone construction of the church as well as of the monastery dates from the year 1468. (5)

[113] 5. The question of the oldest brick construction in Lithuania is treated by Cornelius Gurlitt, "Alt-Litauisches Bauwesen," Baltisch-Litauische Mitteilungen, No. 127, September 4, 1918. Cf. further on this point Prof. P. Weber, "Litauische Kirchen," in Bilder aus Litauen, 2nd ed. (Kaunas, 1917), p. 123. Important for the study of sources: Kun. P. Veblaitis, "Kauno Bazilika" (The Basilica of Kaunas), Naujoji Romuva, 1935, Vol. V, No. 16/17, pp. 379-380. Further: Vyskupas M. Valančius, "Trumpa Kauna bažnyčių istorija" (Short History of the Kaunas Churches) in the periodical Žinyčia (Tilsit), 1900, No.2, pp. 32-51. According to Valančius the Franciscan church was also executed in stone as early as 1400.

In Kaunas the steep Gothic roofs which cover the red brick churches dominate a large section of the old city. In the interior we find the typical six-part vault construction which resolves the ceiling into star and net vaults and thus absorbs the rising force of the columns. Five old churches

346 of this type, all of which date from the fifteenth century, are still preserved today in Kaunas. The oldest is the Vytautas church (Franciscan church) built in 1400, which the grand duke erected in memory of the recognition of Lithuanian independence by Jogaila. The history of its founding is set down on a marble plaque near the main entrance. The interior decoration is very simple. 532] Noteworthy is a picture by Kalpokas over the main altar, whose upper half represents the ascension of Mary, while the lower half shows Vytautas with his soldiers at the Vorskla, as he pledges himself with a solemn oath to build the church. The grand duke gave this church to the Franciscan order, whose monastery then stood on the site of the present city hospital. (6) Although the church /152/ was

113] 6. Kan. J. Tumas, "Iš Vytauto bažnyčios istorijos" (From the History of the Vytautas Church), Iliustr. Lietuva, Vol. 1927, Nos. 15 and 16.

destroyed in the seventeenth century by the Swedes, in 1812 by the French, and in the middle of the nineteenth century was transformed into a Russian church, it remained the only one of the old churches which faithfully preserved its Gothic character. Its peculiar tower stems from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the facade decoration of the side wings from the same period.

The construction of the gigantic cathedral of the archbishop (Cathedral of Peter and Paul) also reaches back into a very early period. In the renewal of its privileges, of 1503, it is mentioned that the church was built "in very old times, almost at the beginning of Christianity," and was richly endowed. (7) In its size alone--

7. Valančius, see above.

it is 84 meters long, 34 meters wide, and 28 meters

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high--it makes a powerful impression. After the great fire of 1770, which left only the foundation walls standing, it was rebuilt in a different form. Probably the church was originally built with two towers (in its present form the one tower interferes with the symmetry of the exterior). In the nineteenth century a side chapel was added to the south front by Bishop Paliulionis; it contains pictures by Tyrolian artists and a beautifully carved altar. Further to be mentioned is the building of the cathedral library, which reminds one of the Marienburg castle. The interior of the cathedral was completely covered over by later artistic styles after its reconstruction: the pilasters, the columns, and above all the numerous altars sparkle in the magnificence of the baroque, whose animation is increased still more by numerous rococo forms. But, as K. Jasenas correctly points out in his art history, a counterbalance is created by the powerful compactness of the main altar (from the year 1775), which subdues the total impression into serious and mighty solemnity. (8) Precisely this altar, between whose Corinthian columns tower gigantic figures of the apostles, has a particularly majestic effect. Thus the impression which proceeds from this cathedral is unusually strong, and the spirit of medieval piety and religious artistic instinct becomes directly alive. The church paintings[1] were mostly /153/ painted in the middle of the nineteenth century by Elviro Andriolli, an Italian artist who settled in Lithuania and was naturalized.

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Considerably younger than the cathedral, but also still stemming from the fifteenth century, the Seminary Church of St. George first meets the eye of anyone who approaches the city from the river.

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[113] 8. Jasenas, Visuotinē meno istorijz /General History of Art/, V, p. 267.

[1] [in Cathedral of Peter and Paul in Kaunas--Analyst]

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In the seventeenth century it still bore a tower, while today it is decorated only by simple crosses. This church, too, was destroyed at various times by fire, the last time in 1812. As a result it also had to undergo the stylistic change from Gothic to baroque, just as the little Church of St. Gertrude, which today leads a hidden existence in a courtyard off the main street (No. 61) and belongs among the oldest buildings of the city.

The Benedictine Church of St. Michael lies apart from the religious buildings we have mentioned. It has a peculiar effect through its lack of symmetry, but the purely Gothic style of its apse must be mentioned. From the outside it resembles more a medieval fortress than a church. In his monograph on the city of Kaunas V. Bičiūnas expresses the idea that this peculiar building, on whose origin no reports are available, may be identical with the building which Guillebert de Launnoy saw on his journey in 1413-14 and mistook for a fortress. The church is mentioned in documents only in a later period; thus we hear of privileges which were grante it in 1495. At present it belongs to the order of the Benedictine nuns; the monastery built next to the church stems from the beginning of the last century. (9)

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9. V. Bičiūnas, Kaunas, 1030-1930 (Kaunas, 1930), p. 208.

Therewith the circle of the old Gothic and formerly Gothic structures in Lithuania is closed. The simplicity of their external forms frequently contrasts strongly with the ostentatious interior decoration of a later period. With the relatively

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small number of Gothic church buildings it might almost appear as if this artistic epoch /154/ attained very little prominence in Lithuania. Nevertheless, it did have a stronger influence on secular construction. In Kaunas there are still

341 many gabled houses in the Gothic style, and indeed here and there an old granary, hidden in the maze of twisted courtyards. Often these buildings also are hidden today under the disguise of a later period. Especially the streets behind the steamer landing are still full of old gabled brick structures today. Sometimes the courtyards of these houses, like those in Vilna, have passageways of wood which stem from a later period. How much the whole artistic epoch which is understood under the name of Gothic could be forgotten is proved by the fact that a small house with a late Gothic gable rising freely into the air is today called a "Perkunas temple" in the vernacular. The gable is found across from the city hospital; it shows the typical overly slender pilasters which blossom out in decorative finials and are connected by curved interlinking arches. Possibly this was also a little church, perhaps a secular building. (10)

[113] 10. Cf. A. Thomas "Rombinus," in Mitteilungen der litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft, 1884, Vol. II, No. 2. In addition see the colored illustration in Vol. IV, No. 4 together with a ground plan according to the record of Kulakowski of the year 1823.

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### 3. Renaissance and Baroque

Whoever surveys the city from the hill of the Linksmadvaris estate, rising up steeply across from the old section of Kaunas, has an unusually beautiful view of the churches of the old city. The cathedral and the Vytautas church, the Seminary Church and Trinity Church lie at his feet in a harmonious grouping. Between them rise the light towers of the Jesuit church and the slender tower of the city hall. The last three buildings lead us to a new period of style which replaced the Gothic in Lithuania. It began in the middle of the sixteenth century and received strong stimulation through the introduction of the Counter Reformation. The late Renaissance and the baroque are characteristic of this period.

/155/ Concerning the introduction of these new styles Dr. Kairiūkštytē-Jacynienē writes in her detailed monograph on the monastery of Pažaislis: "From the beginning of the sixteenth century on the true Italian Renaissance penetrated into the country by way of Hungary, specifically through the mediation of immigrant Italian artists and artisans, who as early as the year 1502 were summoned to Cracow by King Sigismund the Elder and his wife Bona Sfroza, Duchess of Milan. . .From Cracow the Renaissance style rapidly spread through the whole country. The influx of Italian artists, principally architects, went on uninterruptedly from the sixteenth century on; they kept the leadership for three centuries, since there were no trained native elements . . . Besides the Italians, Dutch architects also worked in Poland and Lithuania from the seventeenth century on. French and German influences were added to the Italian ones, especially in the eighteenth century. All this, together with certain peculiarities of the native, indigenous interpretation of style, produced a mixed style. But the Italian artists continued to be dominant. The Italian baroque created a foundation not only for the construction of churches, but also for secular construction. Today the baroque is still the most common style in the country, and the one which speaks with the greatest force." (11)

[113] 11. Kairiūkštytē-Jacynienē, Pažaislis, ein Barockkloster in Litauen, Zürich dissertation, 1928. Special publication of Tauta ir Žodis (Kaunas, 1928), pp. 1-2.

The transition from Renaissance to baroque

346 177 The transition from Renaissance to baroque becomes clear, for example, in the cathedral of Seinai, built in 1619. The most important baroque churches of Lithuania, however, stem for the most part from the baroque period proper, between 1650 and 1750, when, in the train of the Jesuits many other Catholic orders also settled in the country and started a lively building activity. The outward incentive for this was given by the fact that after the devastations of the Russian invasion, in 1655, the building of numerous churches and monasteries became necessary.

The new builders brought with them from Italy a completely different interpretation of space. The Gothic main aisle /156/ was now replaced by a ground plan the form of the Greek cross, with a lengthened main nave and deep chapels at both sides. But what has already been said concerning the Gothic applies also to the baroque construction in Lithuania: its architecture is more simplified than in the West, and above all, it does not have the powerful dome vault over the crossing of the nave with the transept, otherwise so typical of the baroque church. There is in Lithuania only one exception to this--the mighty monastery church of Pažaislis, which will be treated later.

346 531 177 Along with the new interpretation of space went a different world of forms[1]. The linear Gothic decorative forms disappeared and made way for the "decorative ideas of the Italian late Renaissance and baroque, springing forth plastically and conceived for broad surfaces." (12) In the same way

12. Prof. P. Weber, op. cit., p. 128.

the coloration changed; in place of the red brick color came the white plaster surface which was supposed to simulate the marble of the south. Characteristic of this type of construction is the Jesuit church at the city hall square in Kaunas.

[1] [From beginning of 16th century --Analyst]

346 531 177 The high facade with its two towers, between which a richly decorated ornamental gable often rises, became typical for the new interpretation of the front.

The temporal relationship which existed between the emergence of baroque in Lithuania and the influx of the Jesuits was not accidental, for these buildings express a very specific spiritual attitude and intention, above all in the way these churches are decorated. (13) According to the intention of the Jesuits, "mankind in the whole world should continually be torn anew from the sphere of everyday interests and should be directed to the divine through splendid churches, resplendent altars, gilded images of saints, statues, confessionals, and through perspective frescoes on the ceilings pointing up toward heaven." (14) How well the Catholic church succeeded with this striking architecture in influencing the peasant population of the country, is seen both in Lithuanian folk art and in the fact that the name of Queen /157/ Bona, who transplanted the Italian style to Lithuania, was kept alive through the centuries among the people and gradually took on a legendary ring.

346 Of all the baroque buildings of the city of Kaunas the Dominican church built in 1612 (the so-called student church in the Vilniaus gatvē) is the oldest. In the period of Russification it was

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[113] 13. The Jesuits did not enter Kaunas until 1642. Cf. on this point K. Lerkis, S. J., "Kaip jēzuitai įsikūrē Kaune?" (How Did the Jesuits Settle in Kaunas?), Židinys, 1934, Vol. XX, pp. 184-192.

[113] 14. René Fülop-Miller, Macht und Geheimnis der Jesuiten (Berlin, 1932), p. 523.

turned into a Pravo-Slavic church, and was not given back to the Roman Church until 1919. This transformation did not remain without influence on its outward appearance.

Of the churches in the center of the old city the Trinity Church built in 1643 (earlier the Cistercian church) makes from the outside a simple impression. In the interior it is greatly overladen with ornamental elements and contains even gold and silver plated images of saints.

A completely different feeling speaks from the Jesuit Church in the city hall square, mentioned at the beginning, which dates from the middle of the eighteenth century (built in 1759) and is of interest primarily because of its light, soaring towers, which taper steadily and end in cupolas. Finally, the very charming Carmelite Church, built in 1685, shows in its architecture a stronger echo of the high Renaissance. Its interior decoration is justly praised by Jasenas: "If one enters the interior, one stands moved by the harmony of the forms and colors, whose delicate tones are concentrated in the splendid central dome, which powerfully grips the human soul with the magic of its frescoes."(15)

Unfortunately this dome does not rise to the roof and receives its light from the side (a Bohemian dome).

The most splendid example of the power which the baroque displayed in Lithuania, and at the same time a unique monument of religious architecture in general, is the tremendous monastery of Pažaislis, a mile distant from Kaunas, situated high above the Memel in the middle of the woods on the "Mountain of Peace." Its master builder was Christopher Paz, Lord High Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Like all magnates of that time /158/ he had Italian artists and painters come to Lithuania. The

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15. Jasenas, op. cit., p. 270.

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monastery was built according to the plans of the architect Lodovico Fredo, who was later followed by Pietro Putini. (16) Thus arose a baroque structure on the Italian model of imposing grandeur. It required means unheard of at that time. The cut stone which covers the facade of the church and the entrance gate came from abroad, Danzig and Riga supplied the iron, the marble quarries of Cracow supplied the white, red, and black marble that covers the whole interior of the church up to the principal cornice. It was carried by waterway via Warsaw and Danzig to Königsberg, and transported on from there in wagons.

Of particular interest from the point of view of art history is the completely symmetrical composition of the whole monastery, as well as the six-sided ground plan of the church, "a highly rare, almost unique case in architecture." (17) The tremendous, towering dome, through which an abundance of light pours onto the main altar, while the side chapels fade in a half light, makes a powerful impression on the entering visitor, and draws his gaze upward. All the ceilings of the church[1] and of all the neighboring rooms are decorated with exuberant stuccos and fresco paintings, in which the whole art of the boldest Italian perspective painting comes alive. In their splendid colors live the traditions of Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese. These frescoes undoubtedly belong among the most beautiful and artistically most valuable not only of Lithuania, but of the closer eastern countries in general. Of the painters three are known, Ferdinando delle Croce, Angelo Palloni da Compi, and Delbene, among whom the last should be especially mentioned.

16. Kairiūkštytē-Jacyniene, op. cit., p. 19.

17. Ibid., p. 128.

[1] [of Monastery of Pažaislis near Kaunas -- Analyst]

ially mentioned.

346 Of the monastery, which was begun in 1667, only the facade was completed by 1681. After that it took more than 30 years before the building was [193] completed. This monastery,[1] too, has suffered greatly in the course of time, primarily through its transfer to a Russian /159/ monastic order which took place in 1840 (it was founded as a Camaldulian monastery). The Russian order occupied it until the first World War and throughout this war itself. In 1920 it was turned over to nuns from Chicago, of the Congregation of Saint Kazimir, and since then has been renovated as much as circumstances permitted.

Within the scope of this work it is impossible to include also the Catholic church buildings in the provinces in the presentation of Lithuanian baroque architecture, especially since all preliminary work is lacking. In the countryside, too, the baroque--in contrast to the Gothic--has had a decisive effect, as numerous splendid church buildings prove. Here only the beautiful monastery of Tytuvēnai may be mentioned. Thus the baroque gained a special home in Lithuania, where it should be evaluated not only as an expression of the power of Roman Catholicism, but also as a manifestation of a special mental attitude of its inhabitants. Even the primitive forms of the wooden village church, as was pointed out in another place, did not remain free of its influence.

[195] Protestant church construction left behind only a few traces in Lithuania. As Dr. Purickis notes, at the time of their greatest influence in Lithuania, the Protestants had many adherents but very few open followers, and possessed in the sixteenth century neither a clergy nor their own places of worship. Later they sometimes took over Catholic churches. (18) The first churches of the Pro-

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18. Cf. Purickis, "Die Glaubensspaltung in Litauen im 16. Jahrhundert bis zue Ankunft der Jesuiten im Jahre 1569," (dissertation) in the periodical Litauen, 1917, Vol. II,

[1] [Monastery of Pažailis, near Kaunas--Analyst]

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estants were built in the seventeenth century. Noteworthy here is the church of the Calvinists in Kedainiai, built by Christoph Radvila (Radziwill) in 1629, which differs considerably from the Catholic baroque buildings of the period. It shows the cool style of the late Renaissance and is decorated with a beautiful pulpit with inlaid woodwork. The present-day Evangelical church in Kaunas, on the other hand, also built in the seventeenth century (1682), looks like a comfortable village church, (19) and most of the few other Evangelical

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19. On the history of the Evangelical church and its congregation in Kaunas cf. the work of Pastor Joh. Wischeropp, Die Evang.-Luth. Trinitatiskirche zu Kaunas, 1683-1933 (Kaunas, 1933).

churches in the country bear the character of village and small town churches; almost without exception they were built in the nineteenth century. (20)

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20. Prof. P. Weber, op. cit., p. 141. On the church in Kedainiai see "Die evangelisch-lutherische Kirche zu Keidany," in Deutscher Genossenschaftskalender für Litauen (1931), pp. 37-41 (after a lecture by Propst Tittelbach), as well as the essay by Prof. Jonas Yčas, "Das Kulturwerk des Hauses Radziwill in Kedainiai," Deutscher Genossenschaftskalender für Litauen (1930), pp. 100-105. The immigration from Germany is reflected in the dates of the founding of the Evangelical churches in Lithuania. Up to the year 1840 the churches of Kedainiai (Keidany), 1714, and Skuodas (Schoden), 1821, were built. In the years after 1840 immigration was stepped up. Churches were built in Markjampolē, 1841; Tauragē (Taur-

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346 oggen), 1844; Naumiestis (Neustadt), 1845;
167 Prienai, 1847; Šiauliai (Schaulen), 1851. A new period of Evangelical church construction began with the immigration in the 60's --Raseiniai (Rossieny), 1862; Vištitis (Wischtyten), 1864; Švekšniai (Schwekschny), 1867; Vilkaviškis (Wilkowischki), 1868; Garliava (Godlewo), 1870; -- and at the end of the 70's: Šakiai, 1877; Virbalis (Wirballen), 1878; Batokiai, 1885; Jurbarkas (Georgenburg), 1892. From the most recent period, finally date the churches of Sudargiai, 1914, and Pilviškis, 1926. The Evangelical congregations themselves, however, are much older.

344 /160/ Finally, a brief glance may be directed at the secular buildings of the baroque period, of which two in Kaunas are worthy of attention, the so-called Maironis house on the market place at the city hall (named after the poet Maironis) and the city hall of Kaunas itself.

The Maironis house originated as the city palace of a magnate. Its builder was Christopher Paz, the master builder of Pažaislis. Noteworthy in this building is the graded [gebrochene] roof and the high facade which does not face the market place at the city hall. The city hall was built in its present form in 1771. It is a single-storied, quadrangular building with a rustica, on the front side of which there is a terrace which leads around the tower. The tower itself is of great beauty and elegance. It tapers steadily as it rises, and gains special grace and lightness throug the octagonal form which is resolved into a square from the third story on. In addition we find still a few other baroque buildings, such as the house of the Evangelical consistory, stemming from the seventeenth century.

000 Few castles in the baroque style have been

342 346 Few castles in the baroque style have been preserved in present-day Lithuania. We know that the high nobility followed the example of the court and built splendid mansions on its properties in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. On the basis of the available contemporary illustrations Galaunē finds here a close relationship with the present old Lithuanian synagogues, which faithfully preserved the style of those country mansions with their high, pyramid-like, graded [gebrochene] roofs and the cubic forms of the anteroom. Thus the old synagogues seem to him to be the "last echo of an architecture of wood, already vanished, which was employed in the building of the Lithuanian estates." (21)

[113] 21. Cf. Galaunē, "Lietuvių liaudies means" (The Lithuanian Folk Art), Veröff, d. Hum. Fak. d. Univ. Vytautas d. Gr. (Kaunas, 1930), pp. 153 and 154, as well as the Russian and Polish references given there.

342 712 In discussing the modern castles we should not forget that most of the manor houses arose in those quiet and peaceful times when the castle no longer represented a fortress. Real fortresses which served the purpose of defense did not exist in Lithuania (Unnumbered page with illustrations--Village Sculpture) /161/ in any great number. Their remains go back almost exclusively to the wars of the orders, for example the ruins of the fortresses of Kaunas and Gelgaudai, the old Christ Memel /Christmemel/. On the foundation walls of others rise castles of recent times, such as those of Raudonē and Raudondvaris. (22)

113 22. Tarasenka, Gimtoji senovē (Olden Days of the Homeland) (Šiauliai, 1925), pp. 90-92. Tarasenka, Medžiaga Lietuvos archeologijai (Material for Lithuanian Archaeology). For the fortress of Gelgaudai cf.

113 also Tarasenka, "Gelgaudų pilis" (The Fortress of Gelgaudai) in Iliustr. Lietuva, 1927, No. 39; for the fortress of Kaunas: Volteris, "Kauno senosios pilies pēdsakai ir palaikai" (Traces and Remains of the Oldest Fortress in Kaunas), ibid., No. 45.

342 The castle in the modern sense, which serves the economically and socially prominent for representation and enjoyment of life, was not built in the open country of Lithuania as of the whole Baltic area before the eighteenth century. (23)

[113] 23. Carl Meissner, Das schöne Kurland (Munich, 1917), p. 101.

Remains of this period, the mighty ruins of the castle of Biržai still tower on high, built by Prince Radvila in the year 1701. Now wars, revolutions, and devastating fires have probably in no country had a more destructive effect than in Lithuania. This is also the reason why most of the present-day manor houses go back to a much more recent time, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus we find among the castles of the country not a single one left which would be characteristic of the baroque of the eighteenth century. 341 The forms of the rococo, too, if we except the interior decoration of a few castles, exerted only a very limited influence in Lithuania. Only separate rococo elements mix here with the late baroque and enliven it. But most of what may have existed once has been destroyed by the storms of the first World War and postwar period.

4. From Classicism to Modernity

341 177 About 1800 a new style, classicism, was introduced into Lithuania with a certain suddenness; this style had gradually spread in Western Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century. It

341 177 advanced on the one hand from Vilna and owed its introduction here principally to the activity of the architect and university professor Lauras Gucevičius, who became enthusiastic about the new direction of art during his studies in France. This first Lithuanian architect belongs among the most interesting minds of Lithuanian /162/ art history. Born in 1753, the son of a serf in the district of Ukmergē, he was early destined for the priesthood and attended the school in Panevēžys for five years. Later he succeeded in coming to Vilna. Through his unusual talent he drew to himself the attention of Bishop Massalskis, who took him along on his journeys abroad in 1778. He became acquainted with Königsberg, Danzig, Berlin, and Hamburg (here he had several adventures and was initiated into the mysteries of the Jewish cabala), visited Copenhagen and Stockholm, and later stayed in Paris and Rome. His years of study in Paris were decisive. Having returned to Vilna he obtained the chair of architecture at the university there. The castle of Verkiai as well as the cathedral and the city hall of Vilna show his work. Gucevičius can be considered the founder of classicism in Lithuania, but for the sake of completeness it should be added that even before his activity began, Paul Brzostowski, who also became acquainted with the new trend in art in Western Europe, had classicistic buildings erected on his estate near Vilna. (24)

[113] 24. Paulius Galaune, Vilniaus Meno Mokykla (The Art School of Vilna) 1793-1831 (Kaunas, 1928), pp. 12-45. On Brzotowski of the article in the Lietuviška Enciklopedija.

Courland seems to have been a second starting point for the new artistic trend, above all the city of Mitau. We should not forget that in that period German architects like Leo Klenze came

341 to St. Petersburg, where part of the Baltic nobility was assembled. Thus the impetus which created the so-called Alexander style in Mitau and found its brilliant expression in buildings like the palace of Medem and the castle of Mesothen probably came by way of St. Petersburg. With the close relationship between the Baltic nobility and the nobility of Lithuania, an influence through this channel, too, is to be assumed. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, in any case, there arose everywhere in Lithuania mansions and castles in the empire style, whose symmetrical partitions are characteristic of the feeling for style of the period. They give a certain character to the country even today. The center of these mansions is formed by a front of columns, which plays an important role in the total aesthetic picture and /163/ organically divides the long front of the building. This, on the one hand, creates a passageway; on the other hand, there is room for a balcony or even a terrace. At times, as in the castle of Baisogala, a dome built from the middle of the building dominates the picture and provides the setting for a representative entrance hall or a garden room. In general mansions of middling estates predominate in Lithuania. We find in them the classic style permeated with many Biedermeier elements, so that frequently a quite comfortable impression is created specifically where the buildings are executed in wood.

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Characteristic of the so-called Neo-Hellenistic style is the splendid castle of Pakrojus, above which one might actually wish for the blue sky of Greece. In its classic forms it has from afar the effect of a Greek temple--it is also unique in that the same style is repeated in all the court and farm buildings, so that a rare pictorial compactness is attained. The interior corresponds to the exterior, and the great hall seems worthy of a Schinkel in its noble, bright

342 simplicity. To be sure, a castle like Pakrojus belongs to the rare exceptions in the country, especially since Courlandic models are definitely followed here. (25)

[113] 25. Otto Grautoff, Die baltischen Provinzen, Vol. 3, Bauten und Bilder, (Berlin, 1916), pp. XVII and 118. Jasenas, loc. cit., Vol. III, No. V, pp. 308-311.

[341] Although neo-classicism must be regarded as a world wide style dominating the whole monumental architecture of its century, it maintained its importance in the East considerably longer than in the Western countries--far beyond the middle of the nineteenth century. Among the castles built from the second half of the century on we find nearly all types of style; thus one could imagine the castle of Apytalauke just as well in Grunewald. Since up to now there is neither a comprehensive presentation nor a sufficient quantity of illustrations of Lithuanian castles, a detailed treatment of this subject must be left to the future. It may be added that the location of all these mansions was chosen with great taste. /164/ Situated in broad parks, at times on little hills, they are frequently mirrored in artificial lakes and ponds or gain the necessary framework for the unfolding of their artistic effects through broad lawns. To be sure, a number of these buildings are destined to decay, since their owners no longer possess the means for their upkeep as a result of the agrarian reform.

346 In general the construction of important religious buildings in the larger cities of Lithuania came to an end from the nineteenth century on. On the other hand, church construction in the provinces greatly increased. Here, however, the model of antiquity exercises a far smaller influence than the new romanticism which permits the

346 forms of the Middle Ages to come to life again.
Concerning this period Prof. Weber says in the
essay already mentioned: "The beauty of rising
pointed spires and slender, high-pointed arch
windows, and also the charm of natural brick color
were discovered anew. A second great layer of
Gothic red brick churches is now being laid over
Lithuania's cities and villages, this time, to be
sure, onlv imitations of real Gothic." (26) Examples
of this are the churches of Jonava and
Vilkija on the Memel as well as the church of
341 Rokiskis built by Tiesenhausen. Moreover the
second half of the nineteenth century is a period
of imitations of all possible styles and in Lithuania,
as elsewhere, completely dependent on the
eclecticism with its resulting confusion of style
which is characteristic of the West. Thus we frequently
find in later church buildings a combination
of the most varied forms of style which can
344] no longer be called organic. That even the baroque
style celebrated its resurrection in the course of
this neo-Renaissance[1] is seen, for example, in the
former gouvernement palace, the present palace of
the president. The baroque facade here is well
divided by two side projections, with a rustica.
The end of the roof, a cornice resting on brackets,
is carried over the portal and the side projections
in slightly wavy lines. These lines have their
correspondence in uniquely formed /165/ chimneys.
345] From most recent times[1] finally, dates the building
of the state theater, also to be mentioned in this
connection, whose front shows a special lightness
of organization through three high windows. The
interrupted lines of the roof, which are repeated
in great volutes, underline the impression of animation,
movement, and grace.

[1] [19th century -- Analyst]

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26. Prof. P. Weber, Litauische Kirchen, op. cit., p. 138.

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We thereby have arrived in the midst of modernity,* which has brought with it a complete revolution of all living conditions through the powerful events of the first World War and the re-establishment of the Lithuanian state. This regrouping has also taken place in the area of social organization: if originally there existed only two large classes--nobility and peasantry--along with which the working class gained a certain importance in the countryside only, a new group, an urban middle class, now began to crystalize. How great a significance the urban middle class can have for the unfolding of the cultural forces of a people, the architecture of the East in general is the most telling example. In contrast to Western countries, which, along with public and religious buildings, exhibit a compact group of artistically valuable bourgeois houses, this architecture is completely lacking in Lithuania. The simple, half rural city dweller built his house through centuries either in a completely unartistic brick style--the undecorated, single-storied brick houses were almost typical of the nucleus, inhabited principally by Jews, of the small Lithuanian provincial cities--or he stuck to the familiar wood structure. The latter was transferred to the city almost unchanged and is characteristic primarily of the outer sectors not only of the small towns, but also of the larger cities. "The persistence of tradition is quite surprising. The people proper has remained untouched by all the changes of the 'great architecture,' let the foreign immigrants, let the church and nobility build as they wanted."(27)

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27. Prof. P. Weber, Wilna, Eine vergessene Kunststätte (Vilna, 1917), p. 118.

/166/ The new urban middle class, which after the first World War became the bearer of the concept of the state and of cultural progress, substantially

* [19th century modernity -- Analyst]

342 369 [565] changed the external appearance of the cities of the country in a few years, especially since state and communes provided the outer frame for the new bourgeois houses by asphalting on a large scale and by creating green parks. One sees this most clearly in Kaunas. Apart from the actual center, the single dwelling predominates, although, with the relatively small amount of space available in the inner sectors, it was in many cases the row house which was called for. The growth of the city, which took place at an almost American tempo, the unusual housing shortage, and the independence of the builders led in the first years to an unorganic development. In this the artistic architecture found at first no place, since the first and most necessary goal was only to create four walls and a roof over the heads of the rapidly growing population of the city. Even the building with wood was hard hit by these necessities of life, for in most cases it was no longer the comfortable forms of the roomy farmhouse which were transferred to the city, but there arose sober, quadrangular, tin-roofed wooden houses consisting of a first and second story, unattractively set in bare courtyards--houses made for profit, where even the presence of a little garden or a few blossoming shrubs constituted an exception. Along with those styleless, boxlike buildings of wood or stone, however, very recently, after the most pressing necessities of life had been satisfied, various attempts have been made to solve the housing problem according to the artistic model of the West, primarily in smaller private houses and villas in the style of the country house. The development here is still fully in foux, so that a final judgment would be premature, especially since the building activity has not come to a standstill, in spite of the difficult economic situation and the great crisis which began in 1931.

/167/ In the sphere of public building, too,

7: Jungfer-191 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

344 In the sphere of public building, too the architectural thinking of the West found its expression. To be sure, one was not able here at first to free oneself of the preference for the representative building style of the prewar period, of which, for example, the pompous organization of the columns of the Bank of Lithuania or the facade of the Palace of Justice are characteristic. Free treatment of antique formal elements is shown in the small structure of the art school.

Along with buildings intended primarily for representation, which understandably filled a need in the first years of new statehood, there were others in which the interpretation of a new publicity is visible even from the outside; we may think for example of the new main post office with its broad, soaring glass windows, behind which in uniform rooms the whole public business--this applies incidentally also to the interior arrangement of the Lithuanian Bank--takes place before the eyes of the people. But here, too, facade and organization are strongly emphasized, and the impression of representativeness, of rhythm, and of proportion is deliberately maintained. Only in a very few of these public buildings do we find an attempt to limit them exclusively to the functional and to free them from the expression of the human element. Even a modern cement structure like the building of the Kaunas District Administration in the main street does not do away with a well executed organization--pilaster-like projecting verticals, against which the powerful horizontals of the side projections are balanced--the whole clear, cool, and though remote and impersonal with its many small windows, of a conscious refinement in all its functionality. In other buildings again we meet attempts to enliven the functional forms of modern architecture through decorative ornamentation and decorative motifs, for example in the state insurance building, where to be sure, the impression of organic consistency is

344 not achieved. On the other hand, the decoration of the ceiling in the interior of the main post office represents a thoroughly happy solution.

346 /168/ Among the most interesting buildings of the most recent times belongs the Museum of Vytautas the Great of the year 1935. In this building, which is dedicated to the old memories of a glorious past, the fortress-like character of the whole arrangement seems intentional, although the contrast between the front side of the structure and the rear is somewhat too pronounced. On a lower floor with two side wings, whose facade is divided by an unusually great number of broad, symmetrically spaced windows, the compact, windowless wall of the upper story is built up. Especially the mighty side wings are effective through the uniformly white surface of their walls, while the projection of the central facade is divided by slender, rising pilasters which seem almost too strong for the entablature which rests on them. We find here a complete renunciation of the clear separation of supporting and supported elements, the harmonizing of bearer and burden in the sense of conservative aesthetic feeling. A single example from the past, the doge palace of Venice, shows a similar distribution of mass. Perhaps, however, this example is too far-fetched, for as a matter of fact the structural feeling of the modern architect has been basically changed in relation to a still recent past through the use of steel skeletons and cement. This building, which naturally ran up against protests, (28) is thus characteristic. The high tower erected ne

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[113] 28. Cf. for example Dr. H. Kairiūkštytē-Jacynienē, "Dēl Vytauto Didžiojo vardo muziejaus projekto" (On the Project of the Museum of Vytautas the Great), in Židinys, 1931, Vol. XIV, No. 8/9, pp. 167-170.

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to the museum is connected with it through a sort of protected passageway, whose arcades find no correspondence in the overall arrangement. The interior architecture of the building, within its large, light exhibition halls and office rooms, serve well the purpose for which the museum is intended.

344 Out of the great number of public buildings which have arisen since the re-establishment of the state, in this context only those few can be discussed which seem characteristic of the trends in the new architecture of the country. Specific characteristics can /169/ not yet be recognized there, except, in most recent times, the transition from stone construction to cement and steel framework construction. Along with the already discussed building of the Kaunas District Administration, the building of the National Bank is representative of this style. Here one has already progressed quite a bit farther along the road to functionalism. It is a building of complete anonymity and impersonality. Large continuous verticals divide the block of the structure into narrow strips of windows. It is symmetrically fashioned out of surface and line, without decorative elements, without relation to the human factor--a many-storied office building with a regular series of windows and of functionally logical construction. The building of the National Bank, in which also the Foreign Ministry is located, was completed in 1935.

341 It is not without interest that the newest warehouse style--steel houses with broad, posterlike horizontal surfaces--such as is characteristic, for example, of the latest development in Holland (but also in Germany), has as yet met with no approval in Lithuania. Perhaps this is connected also with reasons of climate, since in a northern country natural obstacles stand in the way of the construction of broad window surfaces. We find

341 perhaps a slight suggestion of this style in the house of the Union of Dairy Companies (Pienocentras).

349 In the provinces, too, state and communal building activity has been very lively in the last decades. Even to the casual observer who may know Lithuania from the preward period, it should seem remarkable that all along the railroad sections station buildings of stone have replaced the earlier Russian wooden barracks. The impression is strengthened, particularly by a visit to the district cities, for in a few years a whole series of large buildings has arisen here on Western models, above all schools and hospitals of often surprising, though necessary proportions (e.g. in Kēdainiai), and in addition many other public and private buildings. For all /170/ these buildings demonstrate a decisive effort, with the support of proven Western forms, to combine the particular purpose of the building, which is the most essential element, with a harmonious form and an overall aesthetic impression.

361 The face especially of cities such as Šiauliai, that were completely or partially destroyed in the first World War and were rebuilt in stone has completely changed. Thus the transition to stone construction proceeds in the provinces with greater and greater speed and also reaches into the villages, primarily through the example of those who return from America. This development is hastened by the effort to protect and preserve as much as possible the forests of the country, which are not in themselves large. Perhaps only a few more decades will pass and the "Lithuania of stone" which already plays a great role in architectural discussions will have partially become a reality. The character of the Lithuanian countryside would thereby experience a basic change which is for the moment unimaginable.

7: Jungfer-195 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

B. Painting and Sculpture

532 1. Development up to the first World War.

217 The palaces of the Radvilas, of the Paz, of the Sapiehas, and many others today lie in ruins. Only one or the other ruin still reminds one in its gigantic proportions of the power of the earlier lords of the land. With the castles of Lithuania, the precious store of pictures which they contained was also destroyed at the same time. Thus in 1830 the picture gallery of Princess Sapieha went up in flames. The art collection of the Radvilas, too, was half destroyed. The uprising /171/ of the year 1863 destroyed the most valuable portion of the archaeological collection of the Museum of Vilna. Valuable objects of art were removed by the Russians to St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev, where they were exhibited in galleries, if they were not burned; the last happened, for example, to the remains of the Sapieha gallery, at the command of Czar Nicolas I. The first World War, however, brought with it the greatest destruction. With it a centuries old tradition was carried to the grave, never to be reawakened to life.

532 For these reasons the new Lithuanian painting grew in a completely independent soil, without tradition or connection with the artistic past of the country. The young Lithuanian painters sought and found the soul of their people in the nature of their homeland and in their heroic past. Sometimes they also built further along the line of the old peasant folk art, which extends into our own time. Around the turn of the nineteenth century /sic/ artistic life in Lithuania achieved its first blossoming. In the year 1907 the first Lithuanian art society was founded in Vilna.

532 In order to understand the beginning of Lith-
186 uanian artistic life, which was concentrated in the old capital of the country, one must consider to what extent this spiritual life--no matter whether

it had to do with painting, poetry, or science--was focused in a single point--the national idea. The idea of the liberation of the people from the Russian yoke, at first not yet conceived of as absolute governmental independence, first gained real form at the moment when the buried springs of national consciousness again began to flow. The beginnings of pictorial art also stood partially in the service of this idea. In sagas and fairy tales, in folk songs, in wood carving and weaving of the villages lay hidden the elements to which that first generation of artists now first gave the concept of a native creativity by bringing them into consciousness. The folk art /172/ thus became a symbol of their own worth, but also a symbol of all that which separated and distinguished their own people from its neighbors. From such ideas arose the great picture book of the Lithuanian Crosses which was published in 1912 by the art society in Vilna. Along with impressive drawings by Antanas Jaroševičius, it contains an introductory essay by Dr. Basanavičius, who with the means of historical research pursued the same purpose--to awaken awareness of the value of their own folk art by carrying it forward from an archaic past and thus throwing a special light on it. The meaning of history became thus a second root of these efforts. From the deeds of a glorious past the ideals of the present were easily derived, above all the lietmotif that Lithuania had once been a powerful state and for that reason must not perish.

To be sure, such ideas did not affect all artists to the same degree and were expressed differently at different times. The glow of these ideas faded for many who were far from home. Foreign themes gained in influence; the force of Western artistic trends--realism and impressionism--allowed the spring to be forgotten from which an independent Lithuanian art could have been created--the folk art.

532 Only much later, under the imprint of expression-
186 ism, did a change set in, as will be shown later.

A third factor, however, retained for all these artists its particular tone, no matter whether they stayed long years abroad or worked in the homeland. This third factor was the earth--the Lithuanian countryside, from which they all sprang and which, in its thousandfold moods, constantly welled up in their soul anew--the little dreamy village, the babbling brook, the wide expanse of the snow-covered landscape in the winter. Thus the countryside of the homeland became a symbol of all that for which one fought.

532 /173/ The themes for that first generation of artists were thereby partially given. We see this for example in the picture "Vision" by Antanas Zmuidzinavičius (born 1876). A mystical rider gallops along the horizon of a nocturnal cemetery landscape. In his right hand he swings a sword. But the rider is a symbolization of Vytis, the old Lithuanian knight at arms, and the picture breathes not so much a romantic mood of the past as a prophecy of a future. Thus the success which Zmuidzinavičius achieved at just that time with his romantic realism, with which he brought to life the past of the people, is completely understandable. At the same time he became the representative of a realistic, more academic, school of landscape painting, which was to dominate not only the first beginnings of Lithuanian art. He received his training on long journeys to Germany, Paris, and Italy. In 1906 he returned to Vilna. We possess excellent landscapes by this artist--in some the peaceful, dreamy beauty of the Lithuanian forests and lakes finds its true expression. Many are not "realistic" in the usual sense of the word, and from the best speaks that nuoširdumas with which the Lithuanian language describes the genuineness of a deep feeling and a lyric mood.

Nevertheless in an art which proceeds primarily by way of recounting the past there exists the danger of making concessions to public taste. I am not thinking only of several paintings in the war museum in which individual events in the country's history are illustrated, as it were, and in which obviously something other than a purely artistic purpose has been pursued. In general Lithuanian painting from that time on up to the most recent past has moved along the line of realism--impressionism. That conservative element which we have already observed in the development of architecture applies also, mutatis mutandis, to painting. Undoubtedly this development, which has been overcome by now, contained a second danger impairing the appreciation of art by a still untrained public, /174/ in that the attention of the observer remained directed predominantly to the story behind the picture.

Apart from Zmuidzinavičius there were independent personalities who stood out in that first generation of artists and who went their own ways. In the water colors of Kajetonas Šklērius-Šklērys (died 1932) was reflected all the pictorial magic of the atmosphere whose chamr is pursued by the artist with sensual refinement. Brilliance of colors is shown especially by his Italian landscapes, the results of long trips to the south. It was just this landscape of the south, in which the sun throws objects into relief up to the far distances, that gave the impressionist the subjects for a series of beautiful water colors. Side by side with this unproblematic harmony stands the mood of the Lithuanian landscape--in gardens outside the city that are covered with snow, birches along the road, accompanied by a tender, dreamy basic harmony, sections of autumn landscapes, finely toned down in their colors, everything seen with a great sensitivity and directness of natural experience. From the still-lifes of this artist, too, speaks a high, colorful culture, sometimes per-

532 meated by a visionary mood. His portraits appear less characteristic.

A strong personality is the mark of Adomas Varnas (born 1879), whose creativity has passed through various stages of development. He, too, like Zmuidzinavičius, began with symbolic presentations, and, remained faithful to realism his whole life long, but he achieved thereby a feeling for form all his own, a new, heightened interpretation of reality, which led him to ever greater simplification in his modelling of the objective world. This is also evident in his coloration. In his later pictures his distance from nature becomes greater; lyric contemplation gives way to a more rational interpretation which perhaps leaves one cooler, but which gives the artist's own personal note to his interpretations of the Lithuanian countryside. After long years of silence, during which he devoted all his powers to the mastering of the Lithuanian art of woodwork, above /175/ all the roofed crosses, he presented to the public creations in which a stronger, more concise method of handling the brush is followed. The descriptive power of Varnas is most strongly shown in his portraits, which, as far as characterization and reproduction of personality are concerned, belong among the best that has yet been created by Lithuanian painters. His heads gain their effect through thei greater than lifesize scale, through great simplification of details, and the art of intensification. The head of the gymnasium director Žilinskis, with its gaze turned inward and its deep thoughtfulness, is a fine example; and the self-portrait of the artist with his wife, created as early as 1912, is very impressive--two heads pressing forward in animation with wide open eyes and hair flowing against the storm. The element of motion is splendidly depicted here, the heads so near that we think we can feel their breath, while everything in the distance is dissolved in indefinite tones in which

532 one feels the waves of the sea rushing forward. (29)

[113] 29. On Varnas cf. also Ign. Šlapelis, "Adomo Varno kūrybos keliais" (Following the Paths of the Creations of Adomas Varnas), Iliustr. Lietuva, 1927, No. 12.

Among the most gifted impressionists of the older generation belongs Petras Kalpokas (born 1880). He too, like many others of the Lithuanian artists, spent long years in Switzerland and Italy, a fact which did not remain without influence on his development. Galaunē writes of him: "He is an impressionist of great style, free to the point of boldness in his technique. His portraits betray the influence of Italian painting. In his Lithuanian landscapes he knew how to let the essential features of this unique nature stand out. In his 'Temptation of Christ' and in his 'Pieta' he tries to reproduce the psyche of the Lithuanian people." (30) Kalpokas had already made a name for

[113] 30. P. Galaunē, l'Art lithuanien (Malmö, 1934), p. 34.

himself in Russia before the first World War. At the outbreak of the World War a large number of his pictures were on their way to an exhibition in Munich and, unfortunately, fell victim to the events of the war. Among his best works belong a number of landscapes and his self-portrait.

/176/ Finally to be reckoned among the older generation is Jonas Šileika, who underwent his training in Munich, a strong, artistic temperament, completely dominated by his joy in colorful compositions and decorative effects, in his portraits a realist with a striving for spirituality and animation (Portrait of a Lady, 1925, Čiurlionis Gallery). His portrait of the writer Žemaitē was honored with a prize in Chicago in 1920.

Among the artists who found themselves exclusively drawn to sculpture, Petras Rimša (born 1881), who stood close to academic naturalism, found early recognition. Rimša is one of the artists in whose creations the social and political distress of his people before the first World War found a special emphasis, and whose participation in the actual problems of his time also was much more active than that of many others. He became known to broad circles through his sculpture "The Battle," in which the Lithuanian knight at arms is shown in battle with the Polish eagle, which he defeats--a sculpture that aroused such strong indignation in Polish circles that the artist himself destroyed it in a fit of rage. A second famous sculpture, "The Lithuanian School," calls back into memory that period of Russian suppression in which (1864-1904) Lithuanian books and Lithuanian schools were forbidden. It shows a mother at the spinning wheel teaching her small son how to read. Quite apart from the highly impressive subject, the characterization of the two figures is also well executed artistically. Later the artist proceeded to enlivening his sculptures by the use of popular decorative ornamentation. Thus sometimes very original works were produced. From his last years, finally, date several medals and bronze plaques, which combine a clear composition with fine stylization.

Along with Rimša, Juozas Zikaras became known. The latter stood under the influence of the development of the nineteenth century, in which sculpture was completely /Unnumbered page with illustration--Pieta/ /177/ separated from architecture, left the realm of monumentalforms, and approached painting through expression. Thus his art remained small art in the sense of impressionism. In this realm Zikaras created various well executed sculptures, medals, and bas-reliefs. A bold attempt was

532 his satirical stylization of a "modern madonna," a bas-relief that shows a modern woman in a short skirt, the fashion at that time, and crossed legs, who regards her child with an expression "like a mother who does not love her child, but only tolerates it like an uninvited guest." (31)

[113] 31. Ig. Šlapelis, "Iš J. Mackevičiaus ir J. Zikaro parodos," Meno kultūra, 1928, No. 1, pp. 18-19.

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543 Therewith the first generation of artists, whose works were represented at the first Lithuanian art exhibition in 1907, has been briefly characterized in its outstanding personalities. No less than 23 artists were represented with 242 pictures. The paintings were sent from far and wide--they came from Russia, Poland, Switzerland, Italy, Tyrol, and France--for very many of these artists lived at that time outside of the country. At the head of the art association, which in the following years sponsored a number of further exhibitions, was together with Rimša, Antanas Zmiudzinavičius, one of the most active champions of that generation of artists, who placed his organizational talents completely at the service of this idea. (32) They were joined by a third, the composer and painter Mykolas Čiurlionis, an artist who, through his creations, at that time drew to himself the attention of the leading Russian artistic circles.

[113] 32. Vydūnas, Litauen (Tilsit, 1916), p. 116.

532 Born in 1875, the son of an organist in Druskininkai, Čiurlionis was accepted as a boy into the private orchestra of Prince Oginski in Plungė. His unusual musical talent and his likeable character caused the prince to send him to the conservatories of Warsaw and Leipzig. In 1901 we find

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him, returned from Germany, in Warsaw, where he supported himself after the death of his patron by giving music lessons. Around this /178/ time began his meteoric rise as a painter and draftsman. In 1907 he moved to Vilna, two years later to St. Petersburg. Here in the center of Russian artistic life his creativity reached its high point. But quite suddenly a rapid decline took place. A serious illness overtook him, and a dissolution of his mental powers set in. Thirty-six years old, he died in 1910 in a sanatorium.

The self-willed personality of Čiurlionis reflects like a prism the peculiar character of his people which tends towards mysticism. From his creations speaks the elementary man as he grows out of the Lithuanian countryside without inwardly separating himself from it, the man from whose being the broad plain of the East shines forth and blends with him, the way the whole nature which surrounds him blends with flowers, mountains, and rocks. On this soil his special artistic quality is growing. The deeply musical and rhythmical element that carried him forward made him strive for the direct expression for his artistic revelations. Thus he consciously remounced everything conventional, even renounced the forcing, and thus the dulling, of his inner vision through the medium of the material. Filled with a cosmic religiosity, he transferred the means of music to color and created preludes, humns, sonatas, and symphonies. His last work was a tempera painting--Hymn to the Setting Sun.

From the lyric mood, however, he proceeded to the contemplation of pure form. Thus he saw the reality which lies behind things, and which manifested itself to him in geometrical laws. He fashioned with infinitely delicate colors his imaginary landscape in a noble composition of unreal mountains and broad plains, and filled the space with transparent forms, from which only the rhythmical and

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geometrical principle of the material still shines forth. The human form is here of necessity excluded. Heinrich Schaeder, to whom we owe several very fine observations concerning Čiurlionis, stresses above all the cosmic element /179/ manifested in his pictures, for example in the "Pyramids": "Pure crystal forms, pyramids and obelisks, become plane surfaces and the creators of their own space. A spring wind is thrown between the many arms of two candelabra and carries long slanting streaks of light toward the sky. A powerful sight: on the globe rests 'Rex' the ruler, a transparent, straight-lined, hemmed-in surface which projects upward through two celestial spheres. Clouds swirl in the lower, in the upper armies of comets race toward the calm of the midpoint. Here the stormy movement of the spheres is truly creased." Or the artist wanders through the signs of the zodiac. "In endless distances, in unearthly worlds arise the hieratically rigid forms of Virgo, of Aquarius. And above them stands their constellation." (33)

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33. Heinrich Schaeder, "Čiurlionis--ein litauischer Maler," Das Land Ob. Ost (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1917), pp. 393-395.

Next to such visions are simpler, deeply human allegories and symbols. The symbol of friendship--a precious crystal, presented with closed eyes and the touching movement of devotion; fate--a child on a blooming meadow, an unreal, otherwordly form and landscape--overhead a black bird with gigantic, outspread wings. The number of such explanations could be increased, but little would thus be gained for the understanding of this painter; for just as in all the other pictures, the material here is not seen as material but projects into a second plane of reality which borrows from ours only the external forms. At times the force of this master is also expressed in creations that are completely rooted in the countryside of his homeland and are completely filled with its mood, like his "Cemetery in Samogitia." But here, too, the deeper symbol of the impermanence of everything worldly grows out of the landscape which he fashions.

What affects the sensitive observer in all these pictures so strongly is the deep inner necessity to which they owe their existence, this struggle of the soul for a sublime view /180/ of the cosmos. Čiurlionis belongs among those men who receive their light from within, like Beethoven and Rilke, for example. What they create does not come about through certain impressions of the outer world which are then artistically elaborated, but everything is inner vision. An irresistible force drives them to the representation of their visions. How strong this inner force was in Čiurlionis is proved by the fact, told by his brother, that the sick artist even in his last months, in the night, when everybody in the sanatorium had gone to rest, painted uninterruptedly by candlelight until dawn. (34)

113 34. The literature concerning Čiurlionis is relatively extensive. It consists principally of essays in various art periodicals. Among others may be mentioned the special Čiurlionis number of the periodical Naujoji Romuva, Vol. 5, 1935, No. 42; further the brief sketch by Galaunē in l'Art lithuanien, op. cit., pp. 12-13; as well as the little article by the same author: "M.K. Čiurlionies galerijos istorija" (History of the Ciurlionis Gallery). Bičiūnas wrote a biography of Čiurlionis. In German: Schaeder, op. cit., and V. Jungfer, Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern Königsberg, 1932), pp. 65-69. The great Čiurlionis monograph published by P. Galaunē in 1938, which above all contains valuable unpublished picture material, could not yet be consulted.

000 not yet be consulted.

532 Thus Čiurlionis art is unique. He is one of those rare masters who even in great nations are born only once in a great while. The largest portion of his paintings--148 creations in oil, tempera, and pastel, and 35 graphic works--is found today in the State Gallery of Paintings at Kaunas, located in the Vytautas Museum. His style, i.e. the outward form of the representation, was taken over by Šimonis, who also resolves reality into geometric figures in many of his pictures. His colored compositions radiate great brilliance. Simonis made a name for himself especially as an illustrator. (35)

[113] 35. Cf. Jean Mauclère, Sous le ciel pâle de Lithuanie (Paris, 1936), pp. 52-54.

2. Recent Trends

The first spring of Lithuanian art came to an end in the first World War, which had a crippling effect on all spiritual creativity and scattered the Lithuanian artists all over the world. Nevertheless through the war several of these painters became known also in Germany, for example Varnas and Zmuidzinavičius, whose pictures at the great Lithuanian exhibition in Königsberg, in 1918, received various expressions of recognition in the German press. (36) Only after the end of the war

36. For example the Kön. Hartungsche Ztg. of August 27, 1918.

did the rest of the artists return. /181/ The beginning of new statehood gave to their creativity a broader framework. At that time (1919) there arose a "Lithuanian Art Association" which took over the heritage of the first art association but at the same time also broadened significantly its

532 [517] circle of responsibility: it[1] called into being a theater, an opera, and a music school--institutions which the state took over--and combined within itself all the creative forces of that period which were aiming with great energy and much idealism to create the basis for a new artistic culture within the framework of the new national life.

537 874 In the year 1924 the founding of an art school took place. At its head was the painter Justinas Vienožinskis, who, although he belonged to the older generation, pursued with great freshness the new artistic trends of Western Europe but at the same time directed attention to the values which were lying dormant in the Lithuanian folk art. A painter of colorful culture, himself a product of the impressionism of the previous century, he found a style of his own. Along with him there came as teachers a number of the older artists. In spite of unfavorable material conditions the art school today has well beyond 100 students and has become an independent factor in Lithuanian cultural life. Its director is the well-known art historian and critic Ignas Šlapelis.

532 Adomas Galdikas (born 1893), who began with drawing but found his real field as a painter, also works as a professor at the art school. A thoroughly self-willed artist, he did not remain untouched by the various new trends of European painting, but always followed independent paths. His individuality grows out of his inner ties to Lithuanian folk art. Unusually versatile--along with his landscapes and portraits his opera decorations must also be mentioned--Galdikas underwent a lively artistic development. It is characterized by the Frenchman Waldemar George, who /182/ writes in a monograph dedicated to the artist: "By approaching the archaic expression of religious folk art, Galdikas seeks something other than only an assortment of colored tones and lines. This confrontation with folk art allows him to be con-

[1] [Lithuanian Art Association, 1919 -- Analyst]

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scious of his earthly art. Galdikas . . . recognized that all objective searching in art is meaningless . . . This living faith, this power to see and understand the divine principles of nature, led him to a Lithuanian atmosphere filled with mystery." (37)

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37. V. Vizgirda, "Tapyba ir skulptūra Lietovuje" (Painting and Sculpture in Lithuania), Naujoji Romuva, Vol. V, No. 10/11, March 17, 1935, p. 248.

Except in the French Museum Jeo de Paume, works of Galdikas are found in the museums of Kaunas and Riga.

Vienožinskis and Galdikas thus already belong essentially to a new generation, whose educators they become. In their ateliers a number of talented young artists received their training. The latter joined together later into a special group of "Independents" and thus separated from the "Lithuanian Artists' Association," which continued to include the artists of the older generation. Nevertheless the difference in goals of the two groups does not seem so strong as might be concluded from their names. Even among the "Independents" we do not encounter radical nor extremist tendencies. Impressionism clearly has an after effect among them, too.

In 1932 a new group, "Ars," split off from the group of "Independents" under the leadership of Galdikas; its efforts derived from completely new ideas, as appears from a proclamation which was published at the first exhibition of this group in the same year. (38)

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38. Naujoji Romuva, No. 45, of November 6, 1932 (Vol. III).

Since this proclamation is of special interest

532 for the most recent development of Lithuanian painting, a part of it is reproduced here: "The world, above all our own /183/ people, has entered into a new epoch. After a whole five hundred years we have again entered into competition with the great nations of Europe. We have looked around us and have come to the conviction that the lack of deeper artistic efforts as well as the imitation of artistic forms long outgrown is destroying our art."

In these spirited utterances we see a sharp renunciation of everything that is still connected with the naturalism and impressionism of the nineteenth century. The director of the state gallery of paintings, Paulius Galaunē, expresses himself in a similarly sharp manner in the same almanac. He at first discusses the reasons why the so-called "high art" of Lithuania cannot look back on any past, while the real values of the artistic culture of the people lie concealed in folk art; and he then continues: "it is a peculiar fact that beginning with the first Lithuanian art exhibition our artists have appeared not as children of their own race, but as 'Europeanized' copyists of Lithuanian nature. The ideal of beauty of our educated class, then being crystallized, was 'like in a photograph.' And this ideal sufficiently satisfied the artists of the first Lithuanian art exhibition. When one observes the groups of our young artists being educated today, one sees clearly that this education takes place from the inside, that there is a striving to make conscious what lies dormant in the character of the Lithuanian countryside."

Even if these judgments may appear too sharp to a historical observer of the development of the young Lithuanian painting, they clearly characterize the negative limits of the most recent, as opposed to all earlier efforts. The positive program of this group, however, becomes clear from the introduction to the proclamation: "We have entered upon a bare and painfully neglected field. Through the /184/ spectacles of the centuries we see in the distance a high artistic culture--the sorrowing Christ (sculpture of folk art, V.J.), the fairy tale, the folk songs. A high artistic heritage, already hidden within the walls of museums or almost destroyed by the wind of our darkness, these things contain in their primitiveness powerful artistic models for us."

The connection with the old Lithuanian folk art thus becomes in these words the program of the newest art. The national idea becomes still clearer in the following: "We have decided to serve this epoch of the reborn fatherland and to create its style. A work of art means a new reality of life. Our ardent striving is directed toward the enrichment of our life through new values. We strive for collaboration with other peoples by contributing our work, which expresses the soul of our people, to the common treasury of art. We recognize the formal victories of the current art, for they grant us greater freedom of creation. But we do not burden our members with any preconceived artistic dogmas. We are filled with the ardent desire that each one of us, according to his individual character and inclinations, may serve the artistic culture of our country."

A whole series of young artists who joined the "Ars" group have had the possibility of independently educating themselves further abroad after completing their training at the art school in Kaunas. Thus the most varied influences of modern artistic trends are expressed in their work.

It would still be premature to pronounce judgment on this most recent development in Lithuanian artistic life. Much is still in flux here. In any case the existence of a serious and pure artistic will which carries the development forward can be stated. Only a later period, looking back, will be able to judge its results.

OOOwill be able to judge its results.

/185/ C. Music and the Theater

1. Opera, Drama, Ballet

545 We cannot close the chapter on the spiritual culture of the city without having cast a brief glance at the Lithuanian theater, which, besides its purely artistic significance, is of great educational importance for wide circles of the people--the number of opera goers in the season 1936-37 amounted to about 68,000, while the drama showed an attendance of 80,000.

Seen historically, the forerunner of the Lithuanian theater is the Jesuit theater of the sixteenth century, as we already mentioned in connection with Kražiai. Although the language of this theater was Latin, in the intermissions monologues and dialogues were delivered by the students in the Samogitian dialect. (39) 'The real stimulus for the development of a folk theater, however, was provided by the dissolution of serfdom around the middle of the nineteenth century. At that time, still in the period of the prohibition on printing, when the Lithuanian movement began to stir on all sides, in all the cities where Lithuanians were present in large numbers, the institution of "Lithuanian soirées" was begun: in Palanga, Vilna, Kaunas, even in St. Petersburg, Warsaw, and many other cities. These evenings contained in their program games, dances, and songs, and also theater plays, and among the actors and directors belonged many a person who became important in the later history and political development of the country. The significance of these

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[113] 39. On the Jesuit theater cf. the detailed presentation in E. v. Ungern-Sternberg, "Aus einem erwachten Lande," Bresl. Ztg., September 24, 1923.

545 "Lithuanian soirées" thus went far beyond the purpose of simple entertainment.

Nevertheless, it involved only the work of amateurs: The creation of a central Lithuanian theater that should unite all the artistic forces of the country, was an idea of the future and could only become a reality after the state had been founded. We can name two important dates here, the year 1920 as the /186/ year of foundation of the dramatic theater and the opera, and the year 1925, in which the first full-length ballet, Coppelia, was produced.

The Lithuanian opera was created almost out of nothing. Singers, choruses, orchestras, conductors, directors, as well as all the rest of the personnel did not suddenly become available, but needed a fairly long period of training. The nucleus of the new troup was formed by the famous tenor of the St. Mary Theater in Petersburg, Kipras Petrauskas, as well as M. Rakauskaitē and Ant. Sodeika, who returned from America. Other artists joined them, and thus on December 31, 1920, after the overcoming of many difficulties, Verdi's La Traviata could be performed as the first opera.

658 The Lithuanian opera and the dramatic theater which originated in the same year were founded by the Lithuanian Art Society (Lietuvių Meno Kurējų Draugija), and in the spring of 1922 were taken over by the state. An extraordinary development from an artistic point of view can be observed from then on. About 50 operas were performed, among them three Lithuanian: Gražina and Radvila Perkūnas by Karnavičius, and The Three Talismans by A. Račiūnas. A further opera, Eglē, the Serpent Queen by M. Petrauskas, is in preparation. From the many others, only a few may be named: Verdi's La Traviata, Rigoletto, Il Trovatore, The Masked Ball, Aida; Puccini's Madame Butterfly, La Tosca, La Bohême; Gounod's Faust; Bizet's Carmen; Tschaikovsky's Eugene Onegin and Pique Dame; Wagner's Lohengrin

and TannaHuser; d'Albert's Lowlands; Mozart's Don Giovanni; Smetana's Bartered Bride; Delibe's Lakmé; Dvořák's Undine; and many others. There are about 115-130 performances altogether in a season.

The Lithuanian opera has found acclaim outside of Lithuania also; a number of its best representatives have had successful debuts in guest roles in Milan (La Scala), Paris, Prague, Vienna, Buenos Aires, and in the Baltic capitals.

/187/ The dramatic theater came before the public even somewhat earlier than the Lithuanian opera with the presentation of Sudermann's St. John's Fire on December 19, 1920. No less than 148 different dramas have passed over the stage since then (up to the middle of February, 1938), and nothing more strongly illustrates the artistic and educational importance of the state theater than the great number of classic works which have been produced.

Among the foreign authors can be named Shakespeare with Othello, Winter's Tale, Hamlet, King Lear, and Twelfth Night. In addition, Schiller, above all, with the Räuber, Kabale und Liebe, Don Carlos, Wilhelm Tell, and Maria Stuart. Of all the translated dramas Kabale und Liebe showed the largest attendance figures. France is represented with Molière--Tartuffe, Le Malade Imaginaire, and Georges Dandin. Among the Nordic authors Ibsen reigns alone (Nordische Heerfahrt, Ghosts, Hedda Gabler, Pillars of Society). By Maeterlinck there was L'Intruse and Intérieur; by Gerhart Hauptmann Die versunkene Glocke, Hanneles Himmelfahrt, and Fuhrmann Henschel. In addition there were a great many other classic and modern authors, of whom only a few may be mentioned: Sudermann, Fulda, Hugo, Beaumarchais, Rolland, Scribe, Goldoni, Pirandello, Dickens, Jerome, Slowacki, Gogol, Tschapek, and Ostrowski.

A broader and broader area, primarily in the last few years, is being taken over by the blossoming Lithuanian drama. A number of the more important authors and their works--Gužutis Keturakis, Šiaulēniškis, Maironis, Čiurlionienē, Putinas, Krēvē, Vydūnas, Sruoga, and Vaičiūnas--will receive detailed treatment in the analysis of present-day writing. Among other Lithuanian dramatists, Pivoša, Alantas, Santvaras, Cicēnas, Sakalauskas, Inčiuras, Kapnys, and Petrulis should be named. Although their names in this context can hardly be more than statistics, /188/ they are proof of the lively interest shown for the drama as a branch of the new Lithuanian literature, ever since the possibilities of performance, which earlier had existed only in the framework of the amateur theater, have opened up for every valuable work.

The travelling Lithuanian state theaters in Siauliai and Memel are products of the Kaunas state theater. But the latter theater also gives a number of guest performances every year in the larger towns of the country, where the possibilities for production exist; and these performances are very well attended.

Starting in 1925, the ballet has also come before the public with closed performances, and since then has developed into a factor in the artistic life of the country. Its development proceeded under the leadership of well-known Russian ballet masters; since 1937 it has been under Lithuanian direction. In contrast to Germany, for example, where in general only ballets inserted in operas are known, the tradition of the Russian ballet lives on in Lithuania. From the number of full-length ballets which have been performed, Swan Lake and the Nutcracker Suite of Tschaikovsky may be named; further, Délibe's already mentioned ballet Coppelia, and Sylvia; Don Quixote by Minkus; The Hunchbacked Horse by Punis; Vain Caution by Hertel; and The Fountains of Bachtschisarai by Asawjew. Lithuanian ballets were created by Dvarionas, Gruodis, and J. Karnavičius. They will be

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discussed in another place.

In addition a large number of smaller, carefully rehearsed ballets of famous masters were produced, by Rimski-Korsakov, Strauss, Adam, Schumann, Debussy, Moussorgsky, Weber, Glazunov, and others. The Lithuanian Ballet also found recognition abroad. This is proved by its guest appearances both in Monte Carlo, where ten performances took place in the Casino Opera in 1935, and in London, where the Lithuanian Ballet gave no less than 32 performances in the Alhambra Theater.

/189/ The beautiful scenery, on which a number of the best artists of the land collaborated, contributed not a little to the success of the Lithuanian ballet. Thus the Lithuanian theater in its trinity--opera, drama, and ballet--has become a cultural factor not to be underestimated, not only in the life of the city of Kaunas but in that of the whole country.

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## 2. The Development of Musical Life

The extraordinary rise of the Lithuanian state opera and the great interest of wide circles by which it was supported had, in the first years of statehood, an inhibiting effect on the realm of pure music insofar as the interest in choral music, as in concerts, evenings of chamber music, etc. in general, markedly decreased. This involved, however, only a transitional phenomenon, and the state theater itself, through the introduction of regular symphony concerts, was able to reawaken and enliven the weakened interest, so that today we can speak of a new upswing. Arrangements of symphony concerts at first took place through the Kaunas "Philharmonic Society," which today no longer exists, in which the artistic forces of the country were united. Later Stasys Šimkus, known as a composer and conductor, devoted his whole energy to those concerts. They awakened the interest of wider circles of music lovers, above all by engaging

533 famous foreign conductors (Couts, Cooper, Dovroven, Malko, Scherchen, Hoesslin, Poulet, etc.) and soloists--the pianists Hofmann, Rubinstein, E. Petri, Ellegard, Orlov, Ginsburg, and the violinists Hubermann, Thibaut, Oistrach, Elmann, and Cimbalist, along with many others may be mentioned. The number of concerts presented ran to 26 in the season 1935-36, to 22 in the following season.

Along with these symphony concerts, the choruses, above all, /190/ became important for the development of musical life. The first successful attempt in this area was the performance of the Mozart Requiem by the chorus of "Šiaulių Sajunga" (rifle association). After this there began a lively artistic competition. The student chorus of the "Ateitininkai" (Catholic student union) sang the Seven Last Words of Dubois and Verdi's Requiem; the chorus of the Šiaulių Sajunga soon after sang Handel's Messiah. Spiritual oratorios were produced by the chorus of the garrison church; and the rest of the choruses also, for example the university chorus, did not remain behind. The latter had great success on its tours through the Baltic countries. 874 Of greatest influence on the development of the whole musical life was the state conservatory, whose student count runs today to 220-250, and which has departments of composition, singing, piano, and all other instruments. The teaching staff--about 30-35--is in part also active in the opera and in the radio. From time to time the radio orchestra presents symphony concerts on a larger scale under the direction of native and foreign conductors.

If we want to know what has been accomplished so far in the purely creative field, it must first be remembered that the prerequisites for a modern Lithuanian artistic music, just as those for a Lithuanian artistic literature, were only given toward the end of the last century. The earliest Lithuanian composers, like Kudirka for example, the creator of the Lithuanian hymn, still had no prof-

533 essional musical training. The first composer educated in musical theory was Juozas Naujalis (1869-1934), organist at the cathedral of Kaunas, who was creatively active primarily in the area of church music, and who made a name for himself as the composer of many Catholic masses and symphonic works. He also stood out as a teacher, and 874] founded the conservatory in Kaunas, at which he was active until 1928 as director and professor of organ-playing. Many of his songs were taken over by the people and are sung today as genuine folk songs. At about the same /191/ time lived Česlovas Sasnauskas (1867-1916), professor of music at the seminary for priests in St. Petersburg, of whom a large requiem and a number of smaller creations became known. Many of his choral songs became quite popular.

Nevertheless, these beginnings of Lithuanian artistic music still bear more or less provincial features, and also sometimes are strongly under Polish influence. The first to point out new paths to Lithuanian music was Mykolas Konstantinas Čiurlionis (1875-1911), whose singular artistic personality exhibited a synthesis of the pictorial and the musical. Long years of study at the conservatories of Warsaw and Leipzig gave him a broader artistic outlook than to all the others mentioned so far. Thus he went far ahead of his time, and his compositions are still fresh and alive today. With Čiurlionis Lithuanian music got out from its former seclusion, and for the first time strong Western influences made themselves felt beside the formerly dominant Eastern elements. Among the more important works of this composer are the two great symphonic creations--the symphony Miškas (The Forest), still dating from the Warsaw period, and the later JŪra (The Sea)--musical paintings of great beauty, and, in spite of various foreign influences (R. Strauss, Reger), independent in their richness of musical ideas and their colorful

533 instrumentation. Although Čiurlionis uses none of the motifs associated with folk music, much of the soul of his country is contained in his dreemy, mystical, and melancholy music. This also applies to his piano pieces.

Of importance for the further musical development became the spirited Stasys Šimkus, born in 1887, already discussed as a choral conductor and organizer. He wrote a large number of interesting vocal pieces and made himself a name particularly through harmonizations of Lithuanian folk songs. The /192/ choruses directed by him were received with great acclaim everywhere in the country. Šimkus received his first training at the conservatories of Warsaw and St. Petersburg. After the war he studied in Leipzig. In his most recent development the transition to modernity is clearly perceptible, and his later choral creations are characterized by complicated voicing and bold harmonization. But here we have gone ahead of the development, for between these two periods lies an important event which is also decisive for Lithuanian musical life--the first World War.

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177 The World War introduced a new period of musical development. Only a few composers were left in the country; most of them spent the war years in the big cities of Russia. It is only natural that they brought the impressions which they had gained there back to the homeland with them after the founding of the state. Thus Lithuanian artistic music came again strongly under the influence of the East in the first years of the young state. But a change was already in preparation, a change which was conditioned by the tighter and tighter sealing-off of Russia from the Western world and which pushed the stimuli coming from the East more and more into the background. Conversely the way was gradually opened for more and more active spiritual ties between Lithuania and the West. Thereby the influence of the West, and especially of Germany,

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became stronger and stronger in the realm of music. What applied only to Čiurlionis before the war--the penetration of Western elements into Lithuanian music--now became characteristic of the whole further development. Of importance were above all the influences exerted by the conservatory in Leipzig, where a number of the composers whom we are going to discuss obtained their training.

533 First to be mentioned here is Juozas Gruodis, born in 1884, a musical personality of pronounced originality. He transfers the means of expression of Western music to Lithuanian music and combines the form of the post-romantic sonata with folklore elements that he takes from Lithuanian folk music. He loves bold harmonizations /Unnumbered page with illustration--Lithuanian Landscape by Zmuidzinavičius/ /193/ and dramatic tensions, although a return to greater simplicity is to be noticed in his compositions of the last few years. His best works are a violin sonata, the two-act ballet Juratē and Kastytis, as well as the orchestral piece The Autumn. Besides other large orchestral creations, piano sonatas and other piano pieces as well as adaptations of folk songs should be mentioned. Gruodis is today professor of music at the conservatory, which was under his directorship from 1928-1937.

Next to him are a number of other composers who also obtained their training in Leipzig. Close to impressionism is K. Banaitis, a composer of distinctly Lithuanian character whose lyric compositions exhibit many national elements. His creations are rich in melodies and, in spite of their free form, of strong artistic compactness. Banaitis published a number of piano variations, a cello sonata, as well as songs and adaptations of folk songs. He directs the conservatory today and is also known to wider artistic circles as a music critic.

V. Bacevičius stands apart from those named above; he represents atonal expressionism and, as

533 a pianist, is particularly close to modern art. He wrote a number of larger works for the piano, a one-act ballet, as well as an opera, Vaidilutē (The Priestess), and has also made a name for himself abroad through his piano concerts. Together with him J. Kačinskas should be mentioned, who represents the athematic twelve-tone and quarter-tone system, and has also become known as a successful conductor. To the Russian school belongs the Russian Karnowitsch (Karnavičius), born in Russia, a professor at the conservatory, also a very gifted and productive composer. Among his most important creations belong two frequently performed ballets, Gražina, which takes its theme from the work by the same name by Mickiewicz, and Radvila Perkūnas, which is laid in the time of the Swedish war.

/194/ Among the younger generation, finally, two additional gifted artists may be named, Vl. Jakubēnas and A. Račiūnas, who took part in the composition class of Gruodis. Characteristic of Jakubēnas is a searching for new forms and individual expression, which led him from the impressionism of his earliest creations to a colorful modern naturalism. A strong gift for vocal music and an abundance of ideas are shown especially in his songs and arrangements of folk songs. Basically lyric, his music is enlivened by the introduction of dramatic elements. In the compositions of Račiūnas the elegiac-lyric element predominates; this is expressed especially in his First Symphony. His songs are expressive melodies, full of melancholy and longing. He became known to wide circles through his successful opera The Three Talismans, which exercises a strong suggestive power and whose colorful harmonies excellently underline the dramatic sections. Although the composer does not make use of the melodies of the folk songs, the opera contains many Lithuanian elements, especially from the old raudos. An abundance of popular melodies are found also in the ballet The Matchmaking, a creation

533 of the gifted pianist and conductor B. Dvarionas.

Our brief survey of Lithuanian artistic music is thereby ended. Within the framework of this book it can naturally raise no claim to completeness. Only the development was intended to be shown. And this development is undoubtedly interesting, for it clearly leads from East to West. If a few years ago it was almost exclusively Germany from which the new stimuli proceeded, today it is just as much the cities of Paris and Prague.

Still a second result of the development to our present time is of interest: just as in modern literature and painting, the emergence in Lithuanian music of purely Lithuanian elements and the struggle for an individual art becomes more and more distinct.

## /195/ Chapter Five

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## The Artistic Literature

/Unnumbered footnote on Chapter Five/ The following more comprehensive works on the development of Lithuanian literature were used:

Mykolaitis-Putinas, Naujoji Lietuvių literatūra (The New Lithuanian Literature), Publication of the Humanistic Faculty (Kaunas, 1936), Vol. 1, 425 pp.

Zigmantas Kuzmickis, Lietuvių literatūra (Kaunas, 1933), Vol. IV, 318 pp., same author, Vol. V (Kaunas, 1934), 235 pp.

J. Gabrys, Lietuvių literatūros apžvalga (Survey of Lithuanian Literature), 2nd revised and enlarged ed. (1924).

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### 538 A. The Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The spiritual assets of the Lithuanian people were, in the beginning, limited to their oral folk tradition, their dainos, fairy tales, sagas, fables, riddles, and proverbs, as we have shown in Chapter Two. Only much later do we encounter mon-

*538 uments of Lithuanian literature, the oldest literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries being dominated exclusively by religious ideas. It originated from the struggle between two religious faiths, Protestantism, which was pressing forward toward the East, and Catholicism, which was brought by the Jesuits.

In 1544 Prince Albrecht of Brandenburg founded the University of Königsberg. In order to establish the Reformation in East Prussia, this prince attracted to the university, among others, young sons of boyars from greater Lithuania and granted them scholarships for their education as ministers. Several of them, such as Stanislaus Repagelanus Litaunus (died 1545) and Abraham Culvensis (died 1545), who obtained their further education under Luther and Melanchthon in Wittenberg, later even became professors at this university. Several translations of church songs into the Lithuanian language by these two men have been preserved.

/196/ The first book written in Lithuanian was a translation of the small Lutheran catechism by Martin Vaitkūnas Mosvidius (Lithuanian Mažydas), who also came from greater Lithuania. It appeared in 1547 and contained, along with the catechism and the primer, eleven hymns. In 1591 Bretkūnas published his postil, a voluminous work of about 1,000 pages. A bible translation by the same author remained unprinted.

These translations, sponsored by Duke Albrecht are of less literary than linguistic and also ethnographic interest, since the authors in their prefaces describe in detail the paganism of the Lithuanians. *538 797 While the Reformation gained a firm hold in East Prussia, so that the religious literature in the Lithuanian language continued the course upon which it had entered into the eighteenth century, the situation in greater Lithuania developed differently. Here, too, the Reformation had gained many adherents primarily among the high and low nobility. In the press of the Reformed in Kedainiai, a whole series of writings of an edifying nature were published. The Reformed, who stood primarily under the protection of Prince Radvila (Radziwill), even planned the publication of a Lithuanian Bible, which was to have been printed in Edinburgh. The undertaking had to be given up, however, because of lack of money.

The counter movement, which was supported by Prince Giedraitis (Giedroc), proceeded from Samogitia. It is also of importance for the national tide of that period in Lithuania, which first prepared the way for a native literature. Although the Union of Ljublin, in 1569, brought about the political unification of Lithuania with Poland, Lithuania retained, within the framework of the whole, her autonomy in the areas of internal administration, the army, courts, and finances. When Prince Giedraitis became Bishop of Samogitia in 1576, he took up with all his strength the attack against the reformed church, summoned the Jesuits from Riga into the country, and sought /197/ to spread Christianity through Lithuanian sermons. Large areas of Lithuania had at that time fallen back into paganism, and on the sacred mountain of atrija even the sacred fire was rekindled. For he education of Catholic priests Prince Giedraitis founded, in 1579, the Academy of Vilna. The Catholic literature which now came into being was also promoted by the bishop. If the Protestants had been the first to publish their polemics no longer in Latin but, along with Polish, also in Lithuanian, the Catholic party now followed their example. In 1595 appeared in Vilna the catechism of the Samogitia Canon Daukša, who came from a noble family, and four years later followed his postil. If Prince Giedraiti can be considered the most active representative of that movement in the Lithuanian high nobility which fought energetically against the assimilation of

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538 191 Lithuania into Poland even after the Union of Ljublin, we find in his colleague Daukša a no les energetic champion of the rights of the Lithuanian language. We do not propose here to investigate further to what extent he was influenced by Western currents--the decline of Latin as the language of the educated and the sponsoring of the native languages in the new territorial states. In any case, in the introduction to his postil, Daukša demands the same rights for Lithuanian as for Polish and Latin. He explains that he published his writings in the Lithuanian language in order to awaken in his brothers, the boyars, a love for the neglected mother tongue: "I do not censure at all the knowledge of foreign idioms, especially Polish, which has become esteemed by us, particularly since the Lithuanian-Polish union, and is practically innate in us, but I do take exception to the contempt in which our own Lithuanian is held." (1)

[113] 1. Cf. on Daukša: E. Wolter, "N. Daukša, ein litauischer Nationalschriftsteller des 16. Jahrhunderts," Mitteilungen der Litauischen litterarischen Gesellschaft zu Tilsit, April 22, 4 /sic/.

The cultivation of a foreign language while neglecting one's own appears to Daikša unnatural and strikes him "as if the goat would like to roar like a lion, the raven sing like a nightingale, and the nightingale croak like a raven." And he says before: "Where in the world /198/ is there a people so coarse and despicable that it does not call three things its own inborn heritage: the soil of the fatherland, native customs, and language. In all centuries people spoke their own language and strove to preserve, enrich, develop, and beautify it. There is no nation so unworthy, no corner of the earth so despised, where man does not know how to preserve his language . . . In home and family beloved and venerable customs are observed in the native language; this we learn from nature itself, for every person already receives from his mother's breast the inclination to his own language, its care and development . . .Not through the fertility of the earth, not through the extent of its properties, not through the comforts of its land, not through the strength of its cities and fortresses does a people remain alive, but above all through the protection of its language . . ."

We have here the beginning of the red thread that runs through the whole Lithuanian literature--the beginning of the fight for the rights of the mother tongue, from which later grew the revitalization of the national idea in the consciousness of the people. But there is still a long road ahead, the voice heard here is still a long one, and the process of Polonization went on. The echo which Daukša found in the country was not very loud, although the high nobility at that time showed a certain interest in Lithuanian--on the one hand, as mentioned above, from aversion for the political aspirations of Poland, on the other hand because of the apparent similarity of this language to Latin. In 1629, the Jesuit Konstantin Širvyd (Szirvyd) published the first Lithuanian grammar, and two years later a Lithuanian-Polish-Latin dictionary which went through five reprintings. Most important is the collection of sermons by this author which appeared at about the same time. For the problem of language at that time, it is characteristic that Širvyd preached to the peasants and burghers in Lithuanian, but to the nobles in Polish. In two entr'actes from the middle of the seventeenth century--/199/ insertions in school dramas, which were performed in the Jesuit college in Kražiai in Samogitia--Lithuanian also appears as a rustic tongue. (2)

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2. Prof. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des

113 2. Prof. Bezzenberger, "Der Werdegang des litauischen Volkes,"Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1915, Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 19.

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538 Several other members of the clergy also published short writings and religious songs during the course of the seventeenth century, but altogether this kind of literature remained on a small scale. The religious literature of the eighteenth century is also without importance from a literary point of view. It consists solely of Bible translations, postils, prayer books, and collections of hymns, and can therefore be omitted. In all about 30 printed pieces in the Lithuanian language from the sixteenth century, about 60 from the seventeenth, and about 160 from the eighteenth have become known. (3)

[113] 3. M. Biržiškas, Mūsų raštų istorija (History of Our Literature) (Kaunas, 1925), 2nd ed., p. 40. (Publication of the book publishing commission of the Ministry of Education.)

The eighteenth century is to be regarded as the beginning of artistic poetry in the Lithuanian language, and specifically there now appeared, almost suddenly, the towering figure of a real poet, the Protestant pastor Duonelaitis (Donalitius). Concerning him Alexander Alexandrow says: "If Donalitius had written his poems in one of the great world languages, he would be recognized generally as one of the first in the ranks of great poets."(4)

[113] 4. Alexander Alexandrow, Sprachliches aus dem Nationaldichter Litauens, I, "Zur Semasiologie," (Dorpat, 1886).

B. The Beginning of Artistic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century.

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## Duonelaitis.

Christian Duonelaitis was born on January 1, 1714, the son of a free peasant in Lasdinehlen near Gumbinnen. He himself wrote his name Latinized: "Donalitius." (*) After attending the cathedral school in Königsberg we find him in 1732-37 as /200/ a theology student in Königsberg, where he applied himself at the same time to the study of antiquity, in 1742 as rector in Stallupönen, and after 1742 as pastor in Tolminken. He was very musical and also composed himself. Duonelaitis died in 1780. No picture of him has been preserved.

Only after the death of the poet did his manuscripts come into the hands of Rhesa, who printed them together with a translation into German under the title: Das Jahr in vier Gesängen, Ein ländliches Epos aus dem Litthauischen des Christian Donalaitis, genannt Donalitius (Königsberg, 1818). Six years later Rhesa published six fables of the poet together with his translations of Aesop. (5)

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* Schleicher and Rhesa write the name "Donelaitis", but "Duonelaitis" seems more correct philologically.

[113] 5. The collected poems were for the first time edited by Schleicher, with a Lithuanian-German glossary (St. Petersburg, 1865). Further German editions are: Nesselmann, Christian Donalitius, Litauische Dichtungen (Königsberg, 1869) (with translations, notes, and glossary). Passarge, Christian Donalitius, Litauische Dichtungen (Königsberg, 1894). Dr. F. Tetzner, Christian Donalitius, der litauische Nationaldichter, Vol. VII of the collection: Unsere Dichter in Wort und Bild (Leipzig, R. Clausner). Especially Nesselmann (1870) and Tetzner (1880) deserve credit for their research on this poet.

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538 Concerning Duonelaitis' poetry his biographer, Prof. F. Tetzner, Leipzig, correctly notes: "It is not difficult to see that Donalitius first had to create the Lithuanian artistic style, if he did not want simply to cling to instantaneous lyric images. To be sure, where would there have been a public that would even so much as have read, much less desired or wanted in print, Lithuanian artistic poetry. Donalitius brought it about that a number of his colleagues and friends heard and wrote down these verses with pleasure, until finally Ludwig Rhesa, under the aegis of Wilhelm von Humboldt, was able to bring out, in 1818, in the Lithuanian and German languages, the most beautiful poems of the literary world." (6)

[113] 6. Prof. F. Tetzner, Leipzig, "Tolminkemer Erinnerungstage," Das neue Litauen (Berlin, 1917), Vol. I, No. 6, p. 22.

It is only natural that Duonelaitis did not remain independent of the literary currents then dominant. No poet is able to escape the contemporary atmosphere, and thus influences of Haller, Hagedorn, and Ewald von Kleist also seem to have had an effect on Duonelaitis. Stronger, however, was the direct influence of the ancient poets. Several of his idylls can be compared with those of Theocritus. It is especially noteworthy that the poet made use of the hexameter even before it became a poetic means of expression in German through Klopstock; Klopstock did not publish his Messias until 1748, while Duonelaitis /201/ wrote his first idylls around 1740. Only the past part (The Winter) originated much later, in 1773.

In his epic The Seasons the poet pictures the life of the village--the rustic joys of spring, the toil of summer labor, the blessed autumn, and the rough winter. He sees his people in the mirror of awakening, blossoming, and declining nature. They are clearly presented and seen with great realism. From every line of the work speaks a deep knowledge of their life, their character, and their customs. Everywhere one feels the love of the poet for his peasants, especially where the social differences of the time become clear. The descriptions of nature have a particularly lively effect. The language is rich, imaginative, and musical, aided by numerous alliterations. The masterful control of form is above all astonishing because the poet was not able to base his work on amy models in the Lithuanian language and had to create everything himself. The following samples in /English/ translation may give an idea:

### The Spring

Forest and thicket resounded, with loud
songs resounded
The surrounding land, the fields, the
verdant meadows.
Thrush and cuckoo carried on their play,
competing and singing;
But it was a glad song in honor of the Creator.
Swallows rose high in the air with light feathers,
Shot like bullets in joking play far through
the ether,
And held their simple meal without dainty
trimmings.
And after they had eaten, they garruously
told fairy tales.
The crane climbed high to the dark firmament
and loudly rang
To heaven his complaining voice, anxious like
a cry of woe.
/202/ But the nightingale, which till now had
been secretly hiding
Waited cunningly until each one finished his
song.
Therefore it always begins its song the last
of all,

Late in the middle of the night, when the world lies sunken in slumber,
It wakes alone in the dark and praises the sublime protector.
(Passarge, 65-74, 80-84)

Every man, oh nightingale, praises your sweet songs.
When you offer us the most pleasant melodies of the nightingale songs,
The sound of the organ becomes mute and the clang of the cymbal,
Violin and kanklys bow to you in dumb shame,
When you raise your splendid voice in ringing song:
"George, wake up, hitch up, drive off, and crack the whip."
(Tetzner, Dainos, 25-26)

The description of autumn grows out of an abundance of images and inner experiences:

Oh, where have you gone, you cheerful days of spring,
When we, opening the windows of the room for the first time,
Received again the life-giving rays of the warming sun,
Beautiful as a pleasant dream which we saw in our sleep,
Which afterwards we remember only fleetingly, as soon as we awaken;
Thus disappeared the summer, disappeared joy with the summer.
Now the morass spatters as soon as the bast shoe touches it,
Spurts up like the porridge on the burning fire.
/203/ Everything that fluttered round about and happily celebrated the summer,
That joyfully raised its wings in the fields with us,

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Rose in soaring flight and rose high to the clouds,
That, after such delights, devoured grain and beetles,
All that now flew away and tried to hide.
The fields now stand, wherever we look, in lonely sadness,
Their beauty resembles only an aging, decaying grave.
The death goddess Giltine has long since swept through the field.
Storm wind crumpled forests and thickets and took away all grace.
Broke the branches, where under the foliage the brood crawled out of the egg,
Where in the nest, its cradle, it gave its first twittering sound,
Or later, feathered, jumped and played on branches,
Already, scurrying about, hunted nourishment without the mother.

After his representation of autumn in nature the poet leads us into the homes of the peasants, whose daily work he observes with love:

Peculiar it looks, how the women wear out the knives,
Unlovely it sounds, when they clatter and rattle with pans.
Grete and Pimme search for the flint, the notched one,
Selmyke meanwhile makes tinder of linen rags,
But Kathrine and Berge busily polish the pan;
And so that the fire will glow brightly and rapidly under the kettle,
They blow into it relentlessly with inflated cheeks.
/204/ But Magusche and Jeke split the knotty log,

While Enskys brings a load [arfel] of dry wood.
Dotschys, however, the good-for-nothing, loiters behind the stove.
His mouth already waters when he thinks of the delicious meal.
For Aste already stews a fat cock for the noon meal.
Inside the stove she roasts and bakes wheat fritters,
While Dotschys licks his lips and waits for the noon meal.
See, there rides, in his fine clothes, the wedding inviter to the door,
Invites everyone with a joyful speech to Christian's wedding.
Everyone invited immediately takes off his hat as is proper,
Says: "We thank you for the honor and will appear at the wedding."
(Tetzner)

How much this first poem in the Lithuanian language was also appreciated on the part of the Germans, is proved, along with translations by various German scholars, by the erection of a memorial in the park of Lasdinehlen on April 8, 1896, at the dedication of which Professor Tetzner remembered the dead poet in a poetically beautiful form. Another authoritative expert on Lithuania, Prof. Bezzenberger, recognized the great artistic importance of the poet: "Still more noteworthy however, than his verses, worthy indeed of admiration, are many of his poems as to language and beauty of portrayal." (7)

7. Prof. Bezzenberger, Werdegang, see above, p. 18.

With his creations Duonelaitis represents both

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538 a beginning and a climax. He has not found a successor. In greater Lithuania the Seasons remained almost unnoticed into the twentieth century. (8)

[113] 8. Lithuanian editions: Šlapelis (Vilna, 1914). M. Biržiška, Duonelaičio gyvenimas ir raštai (Life and Writings of Duonelaitis) (1921). Translations into Polish and Lettish also exist, cf. E. Volteris, Litowskaja Chrestomatija, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1904).

This may be connected with dialectical differences, which must have had a marked effect since the work did not /205/appear in print until 1818; more important, however, is probably the fact that in that period artistic creativity in the East was dominated by romanticism, so that no interest existed for a realistic work of art to begin with. In addition there was the fact that the Seasons was written without the slightest political overtones, while the whole literary development of the Lithuanian people took place in Russia in the political battle against Polish influence and Russian suppression.(9)

[13] 9. Biržiška, op. cit., p. 39. Prof. Maironis-Mačiulis, who discussed Duonelaitis in his first lecture on literature before the theological-philosophical faculty on September 26, 1923, honored the poet with the following words: "It seems to me that what was really beautiful, perfected in form, and poetic one or two hundred years ago has still retained its beauty today." (Naujoji Romuva, 1923, p. 818). Cf. also by the same author: "Kristijonas Duonelaitis," ibid., pp. 820-822, 845-848, and 868. (Unpublished lectures held at the Lithuanian University.)

In order to understand this development, we must first place briefly before our eyes the times

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538 and the spirit of romanticism. We find here a close relationship with all the efforts which originated in the newly founded University of Vilna. First of all, we want to give a brief survey of the social structure of the country and the extent which the unchecked, progressive Polonization of the upper class had reached at that time.

## C. The Literature of the Nineteenth Century up to the Proclamation of the Prohibition on Printing

### 1. The University of Vilna and the Period of Romanticism

565 The class structure of Lithuania around the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can be outlined in a few words. We find two large classes of society: a landowning nobility--as opposed to a peasantry of serfs--between the two there was a very thin layer of free urban burghers, who, however, played a role only in the capital. The small citizenry of the rest of the small cities--even Kaunas had only about 3,000 inhabitants around 1800--offered a racially varied picture and can /206/ in no way be compared as a cultural factor with the compact German or French bourgeoisie of that period.

[177] The Lithuanian nobility--aside from Samogitia, where free Lithuanian landownership had been maintained--was almost completely Polonized, as was the upper class in the cities. Whoever rose from the peasantry thereby stepped almost automatically out of his own nationality and was assimilated to the Polish culture.

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177 Through the third Polish partitioning of 1795, along with the largest part of Russian Poland the area of the present Lithuanian state, with the exception of a section of Suvalkija, had also fallen to Russia. The common oppression to which Lithuanians and Poles were subjected under the same foreign rule had a more uniting than separating effect, especially since both peoples also belonged to the

565 177 same Roman Catholic faith. Thus the national opposition in the relations between Lithuania and Poland was not yet felt as such, while the social opposition came unusually strongly to the fore. In his informative book on the early history of Lithuania, Dr. Puzinas portrays the Polish influence in Lithuania at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the following words: "Polish influence is everywhere widespread. The educated class, consisting of scholars, clergymen, higher and lower officials, as well as landowners, is extensively Polonized, although in part of Lithuanian origin. In the cities, on the estates, and in the houses of the clergy the Polish spirit is cultivated and the Polish language dominates. Polish influence already is beginning even to penetrate into the people. But here it cannot take root; the inborn nationality is proving itself stronger. The people in Samogitia, i.e. in the north of the national area put up the strongest resistance; here, turning its back upon the influences of Poland, even the nobility still speaks Lithuanian. At the beginning of the nineteenth century this develops into a lively reaction against the Polish spirit." (10)

[113] 10. Dr. J. Puzinas, Vorgeschichtsforschung und Nationalbewusstsein in Litauen (Kaunas, 1935), p. 11.

/207/ In order to gain historical perspect-
814 ive for the period which follows, we must remember above all the far-reaching intellectual stimulus which proceeded from Bodmer, Herder, and the Grimms, and which everywhere directed attention to the mother tongue, the indigenousness, the antiquity, and the childhood years of peoples. The spiritual life of Lithuania and the University of Vilna came in this period completely under the domination of these romantic ideas, which prepared the soil for

8/14 the awakening of the national idea in Lithuania. In 1803, the learned society in Warsaw requested University of Vilna to place at its disposal its reports concerning the Lithuanian people and their language. The university then asked the schools subordinate to it in Samogitia to send their reports concerning the past and the language of the province. At the same time began a lively research activity in the realm of Lithuanian history, in which a large number of Polish scholars took part. Here only the names of Jaroszewica, Lelewel, Balinski, and above all Kraszewski may be mentioned. The latter published from 1840-1851 in Vilna 66 volumes of the Athenaeum, which still represents a rich source for Lithuanian historical research today. Xaver Baužas (1746-1820) had a decisive effect on the further development, both through his numerous translations and above all through his work Über die Anfänge des litauischen Volkes und der litauischen Sprache (1806). (11)

11. Ibid., p. 13.

This work, which treats the origin of the Lithuanian people in a genuinely romantic fashion, left behind a deep effect in Lithuania. A whole series of authors now began to occupy themselves with the questions of Lithuanian nationality. Folk songs were collected, dictionaries and grammars of the Lithuanian language were written, and the early history of the country was investigated. Stimuli from Germany were also taken over; thus Rhesa's artistic translations of some Lithuanian dainos found an enthusiastic echo. Polish poets such as Stephan Garczynski, Konstantin Gaszynski, and particularly Kraszewski, learned the Lithuanian language studied the history of the country, and /208/ published extensive works. (12) Ludwig Kondratowicz

12. August Paulukat, Litauische Hoffnungen (Halle, 1915), pp. 10-11.

814 (pseudonym Wladyslaw Syrokomla) celebrated the heroic death of Prince Margis.

* 513 Among the poets of that period belongs Adam Mickiewicz (Lithuanian: Mickevičius), 1799-1855, whose works, like all the others named in this connection, naturally are part of Polish literature as far as their language is concerned. But he celebrates the past of Lithuania in his poems with such fervor and otherwise appears so strongly rooted in Lithuania in his motifs that he has gained recognition as a native of that country, too. Mickiewicz himself traced his lineage from a Lithuanian princely family. He also obtained his education in Vilna; the glow of romanticism which radiated from this university far into the land and from then on determined its whole artistic creativity also had an effect on him. Several examples from the poems of Mickiewicz explain the peculiar position of this poet in the literary history of the East. (13)

[13] 13. The samples are taken from A. Paulukat, op. cit., and Peter Cornelius: Die Sonette von Adam Mickiewicz (Reclambücherei). Cf. further Schwab in the Deutscher Musenalmanach (1833).

### From Pan Tadéusz

Oh Lithuania, fatherland, which, when we do not have you,
Like health, we only then know how to value correctly.
Your lovely image appears before my inner eye,
Therefore I will draw it--I long for you!

### From the Epic Gražina

Near Kowno have I seen that valley,
Where the Russalka, when spring has begun,

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Spreads out the grass and embroiders it
with flowers;
No valley is more beautiful, even in foreign
lands.

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Quite differently appeared, according to
ancient custom,
Lithuania's princes. For always stood
The residence in the middle of their land.
The princes were all known to me;
And if you will follow the old ways,
Have faith in me, I shall overlook nothing.

/Unnumbered page with illustration--Varnas,
In the Waves/

/209/ From Sonnets

Njemen, stream of my homeland! Where are
your waves
Which once wet the child when he picked
flowers,
Into which the boy, beguiled with ardor, then
Dived at a wild, lonely forest spot?

.......................................

Njemen, stream of my homeland! Where are
your waves?
With them so much happiness and blissful
fancy?
Where has the joy of my childhood fled?
The thoughts which the poet experiences far
from his homeland are also filled with the
same mood:

From Sonnets from the Crimea

The land at my feet grows green and blossoms,

Many a lovely eye laughs, the air grows blue:
What is it that draws my heart from these meadows
To far lands, far times?
Your forests, oh Lithuania, sing a more beautiful song
Than Baidar's nightingale and Salgyr's women,
And your moors I would rather see
Than the mulberry here, which glows with rubies.

The literary significance of the poet lies, as is well known in his consistently fought battle against the Western classic trend which at that time also dominated Polish literature. The subject matter and form of his poems are genuinely romantic. The period in Kaunas from 1799-1823, which he spent here as a teacher of Latin and Polish at the gymnasium, was especially important for his artistic creativity, for here the Middle Ages with their heroic battles gained a controlling power over him, and here also the early history of Lithuania, in which he buried himself in zealous historical work, took form before his inner eye. His epic Gražina, and still more the epic Konrad Wallenrod, contain in their plots historical material /210/ from the Middle Ages, they are in their form romantic and lyric, and at the same time are sustained by a burning nationalism. Perhaps his most important work is Pan Tadéusz. Biržiška writes concerning this epic: "Although an ardent Polish patriot, in his greatest and most famous work, Pan Tadéusz, he (Mickiewicz) does not celebrate Poland, but only Lithuania." (14) In this poem, which Otto von Leixner describes as a "story of cultural history in verse," the heart of the plot is formed by a sajasd, i.e. an act of self-help, through which the

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14. Biržiška, loc. cit., p. 57.

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538 individual tries to decide some sort of legal battle by force of arms. The principal value of the poem, however, lies not in this plot, but in the masterfulepisodes and portrayals of customs, the scenes in which proud historical memories find lively reproduction, in the descriptions of nature, and in the excellent characterizations of the personalities represented. "Mickiewicz unfolds an admirable richness of moods: he achieves the tone of patriotic exaltation, charming idyllicism, and sparkling humor with the same sureness--but over the whole work lies a gripping breath of melancholy which, established in the wonderful "Introduction," constantly trembles forth anew." (15)

[113] 15. Otto von Leixner, Geschichte der fremden Literaturen, Vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1883), p. 422.

The works of the poet have also been often translated into the German language. His significance for Lithuanian literature is appreciated by Biržiška with the following words: "Born in White Russia, but of Lithuanian lineage, brought up in the Lithuanian capital, he loved Lithuania with his whole heart and gloried in being a Lithuanian, but at the same time a Polish patriot; thus he is equally beloved by Lithuanians and Poles." (16)

[113] 16. Biržiška, loc. cit., p. 59. German translations of Mickiewicz: K. von Blankenburg, Sämmtliche Gedichte (1836). Peter Cornelius, Die Sonette (Leipzig, 1868). Weiss, Gražna (Prague, 1873). The poem Konrad Wallenrod has been published in the German language by Kannegiesser, Leipzig, 1834 and 1858; by Weiss, Bremen, 1871; the poem Pan Tadeusz by Spazier, Leipzig, 1826; by Weiss, Leipzig, 1882; and by Lipiner, Leipzig, 1883. Gesammelte Werke (Leipzig, 1862-67).

7: Jungfer-241 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

177 From the attitude of this poet* we clearly recognize that up to the middle of the last century there could be no talk of a political opposition between Lithuanians and Poles. Poland still regarded this country as its original property, its history as its own; and up to the present day something /211/ of the romantic way of looking at things at that period has remained in many Poles.

565 538 Certainly, as we shall later show, the abolition of serfdom first signaled the inner break with Polish culture. This had to occur at the moment when the possibility was given to the Lithuanian peasant of rising into that educated class which determines the cultural development of a people. Nevertheless--and this is the further significance of romanticism for Lithuania--there arose in that period, along with poets of the Polish language, those who, although of boyar lineage, spoke to the people in their own language. That the first writers of this trend came from the minor nobility of Samogitia, will be understandable from what was said at the beginning. In contrast to eastern Lithuania, where it was primarily the high nobility which possessed latifundia, in Samogitia the minor Lithuanian nobility was able to maintain itself. Here, as a result, the relations between nobility and peasantry were also closer, which again reflected back on the language. Thus Dionysius Poška (1757-1832), a Lithuanian boyar, was the first to write poems in the Samogitian dialect, based on historical events in the history of
* 538 his people. Poška's life itself is highly characteristic of the romantic feeling of that period. He was a zealous collector of antiquities that had to do with the early history of Lithuania. At his order a gigantic oak in his park was felled, sawed up, hollowed out, and each section set up by itself. In these little houses, which he had fitted out with windows and doors, he placed his collections and also his workroom. The oak had at its base a cir-

*[Mickiewicz--Analyst]

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538 cumference of 9 meters, so that 15 men could stand in it. The little oaken houses are still preserved today.

Poška took his literary material from the nature around him. Thus in his poem "My Little Garden" (1801) he portrays with great love and thoughtfulness the nature of his garden and its old trees, which stimulate him to a number of observations. More important is his /212/ poem in verses, The Samogitian and Lithuanian Peasant (written between 1816 and 1823). It contains a portrayal of the difficult and inequitable life of the enthralled peasant, with which the rich life of the boyar is contrasted. According to recent research, though, this is a translation from Polish. In another poem, written later, which became very popular, we also find the same social ideas. Here he has the peasant speak:

> I swallow with tears my dry bread,
> I am looked upon no differently than a cow,
> I live and die without a penny.
> The lord carried gold at his feet and
> his hands.
> He lies who says men are equal:
> The boyar has no price, and the peasant
> is cheap. (17)

113 17. A. Ješmantas gives a brief presentation with samples from the poetry of that period in the booklet: Poška, Stanevičia, Valiūnas, Strazdas ir jų raštai (Poška, Stanevičia, Valiūnas, Strdzdas, and Their Writings) (Kaunas, 1930). I have reproduced the melody of the Song of Birute in my Kulturbilder aus Litauen (1918).

Together with Poška we should mention Silvester Valiūnas (1790-1831) who wrote in both

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538 Lithuanian and Polish. Valiūnas was not of the nobility, but came from a poor bourgeois family. [533] He is the author of the famous Song of Birute (written prior to 1828), in which he describes the meeting of Prince Kestutis, who "ruled Samogitia and Lithuania," with the beautiful Biruta, whom he made his wife. This song, which he gave to Poška, became in the latter's reworking a folk song which is still sung everywhere in Lithuania today.

The writers of the Samogitian nobility--a whole series of names could be listed here--maintained a close written exchange of ideas with each other, and, according to the custom of the time, sent each other extensive literary letters. This literary movement found great support in the contemporary bishop of Samogitia, Arnulf Giedraitis (Giedroc), who was also active in a literary way and even translated Torquato Tasso into Polish and Lithuanian. Nevertheless this movement remained more or less limited to the narrow circle of the Samogitian nobility. /213/ These writers took their models from the contemporary Polish literature, and their works were only seldom known in the huts of the peasants. This applies even to Poška. In many cases they were not even printed. Of interest from a literary point of view is the fact that several of these writers, such as for example Valiūnas, wrote simultaneously in Polish and Lithuanian. Others changed over to the Lithuanian language only in their old age, like A. Klementas (1756-1823), who left behind 15,000 verses in the Samogitian dialect. Klementas in his old age translated his idyls and epigrams from Polish into Lithuanian, and stresses this change himself in a literary letter to Bishop Giedraitis in which he writes: "The youth wrote several things in the Polish language; the old man changes to the Samogitian." (18)

18. Biržiška, op. cit., p. 70.

* 538 More important from a literary point of view than Klementas appears to be Stanevičia, who as the young son of a boyar (1823-24) at the university already collaborated in the association of Samogitian youth. His philological writings--a dictionary and a grammar--have been lost, * 538 533 but a number of his fables have been preserved as well as a lovely collection of folk songs which was put together with really artistic understanding. (19) Best known became his High

[113] 19. I have reproduced several songs from this collection in my folklore book Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern (Königsberg, 1932).

Song of the Samogitians (Žemaičių šlovē - Glory of the Samogitians), in which he expresses his joy over the fact that among the Samogitian youth at the university "the honor and tongue of their fathers" had been newly awakened. "The sun has risen brilliantly," and through the world flies "a hundred-voiced cry, beating with long wings" to announce "that Lithuania's old generations have remained uninjured in the downfall." This song stirred up great enthusiasm among the romantically inclined young nobility of Samogitia. Nevertheless in judging that period it should not be forgotten that the "Samogitian movement," as it was called, had written on its banner no political, but only cultural goals, above all the cultivation of the Samogitian language, and sometimes even exhibited a local coloring. (20) /214/

[113] 20. "XIX. amž. pradžios žemaičių sąjudis ir A. Strazdas" (The Samogitian Movement at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century and A. Strazdas), by J. Petrulis, Židinys, 1933, Vol. XVIII, pp. 372-386.

* 538 On the other hand, however, such a movement could

not have arisen if in fact, as Stanevičia writes, "in that period the majority of the Samogitians" (i.e. among the boyars) had not "read and written" in Lithuanian, "some out of love for the mother tongue, others out of the desire to know and learn everything." (21)

21. Biržiška, op. cit., p. 73.

Thus the University of Vilna, although its instruction was in Polish, had a far-reaching influence on the awakening Lithuanian intellectual life. From it went forth the men who were in later times to become important for Lithuanian literature--Daukantas, Valančius, and others. The closing of the university in the year 1832, therefore, meant a heavy blow for Lithuanian literature which had just begun to flourish.

At about the same time at which the Samogitian boyars were creating a belletristic literature, lived a poet who has left behind a stronger impression in the memory of the people than all those previously mentioned--Antanas Strazdas (176301833). He actually became a mythical figure, the representative of a period in which serfdom was a heavy burden upon the people. His figure has even found its way into the modern Lithuanian drama.

Strazdas came from High Lithuania (Aukschtaiten). The son of an enthralled peasant, he received through the benevolence of his lord an education as a priest in the seminary at Varniai. He spent his whole life as a vicar in the most varied towns of Lithuania. In his literary history Biržiška gives us a picture of his individual personality: "The lively, temperamental little clergyman was widely famed for his energetic language, his spirited sermons which pleased the people, and the great number of jokes which he played above all on the landowners, the noble clergymen, and even the bishops. The high lords did not like him, for he was accustomed to saying the truth to their face, reproached them with their unjust treatment of their peasants, and spoke only Lithuanian with the latter. The /215/ priests were angry with him because of his odd interpretation of clerical freedom: he founded a family and made no secret of it. Many began to doubt whether he still had the right to be a priest, and even tried to force him to a written explanation. The people, however, the serfs, regarded him as one of their own, who had risen from their own class and was their advocate. They forgave him his weaknesses, and up to the present day he has remained unforgotten, although a hundred years have already passed since his death. This love of the people was based not only on the reports of the old people concerning his person[1] but also on his songs, which became popular among the people. (22) In

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these songs, which are still sung today, lives a whole world--the peasant, his field, his household tasks, the farmhand and the maid, the lord and the priest (he never disparages them), the travelling Jewish merchant and the beggar. Often the poet chides his peasants for their vices, their drunkenness, hypocrisy, and laziness. Thus in the center of these songs, which all exhibit characteristics of the genuine folk songs, stands man himself with his joys and sorrows, his virtues and his faults. And as in the folk songs, all the images and figures here, too, are closely interwoven with nature.

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22. Ibid., p. 75. Žilevičius writes concerning the importance of Strazdas for the Lithuanian church songs in his essay "Aušra ir lietuviškoji muzika" (The Aušra and Lithuanian Music), Židinys, 1935, Vol. XXI, p. 286. [133]

[1] [Antanas Strazdas, poet, see cat. 116, p. 245-46--Analyst]

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Together with his songs Strazdas also taught the melodies. They went from mouth to mouth and were spread at first in eastern Lithuania, later also in Samogitia and Suvlkija. Along with secular songs Strazdas wrote and composed a number of spiritual songs. How well they were received is proved by the fact that they were at various times translated into Polish and included in Polish song books. Their melodies are purely Lithuanian, folk-song-like and simple, full of melancholy and sadness. Perhaps the view is correct that only through Strazdas did purely Lithuanian melodies find their way into the Lithuanian-Catholic church music. Their texts were published in 1790 and 1814. Particularly famous became the spiritual song: "Let us Fall on Our Knees."

## /216/ 2. From the Closing of the University to the Ending of Serfdom

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With the closing of the Lithuanian University by the Russian government in 1832 began a second period in Lithuanian literature. Poland and Lithuania were still a unit. In the Polish uprising against Russia in 1830-31 the Lithuanian nobility had taken part in the same manner as the Polish. Thus the consequences of this unsuccessful rebellion were equally disastrous for Lithuania. The closing of the university, the repressive measures against the minor nobility, the expulsion of numerous professors and students, the stopping of all cultural activity--all these measures affected Lithuania just as much as Poland. But still, the ideas born in the period of romanticism remained alive. We recognize this best in the great nine volume Polish language history of Lithuania which Theodor Norbutt published during that period (1835-1841). Sprung from an old Lithuanian boyar family--Norbutt himself called

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538 814 himself a Lithuanian--born the son of a landowner in the district of Lyda, Norbutt had obtained his education at the University of Vilna and thus absorbed the whole romantic store of ideas of that period. Probably nothing is more characteristic for an evaluation of that period than the fact that it was precisely the first three volumes of his work, in which he showed himself most strongly as a romantic and a poet--in the first he treated the mythology, in the second the oldest history, in the third the sixth to thirteenth centuries--which made the greatest impression on his contemporaries. Norbutt has been correctly accused of lack of critical judgment, indeed even of forgeries, (23) for he was essentially concerned with letting the past of his people shine forth in the brightest possible light. He best characterizes his attitude himself with the words with which he closes the last volume of his history: "I have carried my writing up to that point where the independent spirit of the people has become tired. The further course of the history I must leave to Polish historians. The last Lithuanian king, that last /217/ to wield the scepter of the Jagellons, Sigismundus Augustus, has died . . . and I break my pen on his grave." (24)

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538 In this connection several poets in the Polish language who stand in close relationship to Lithuanian literature--also as aresult of their

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[113] 23. Cf. here Karge in the Litauenbuch der X. Armee.

24. Quoted according to Puzinas, loc. cit., pp. 26-27. In pp. 21-27 the author gives a detailed appreciation of Norbutt's personality in his significance for archaeology.

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538 [814] influence on later periods--should be at least briefly mentioned. Completely in the spirit of the time* Josef Ignaz Kraszewski, one of the most productive representatives of Polish literature, wrote a two-volume work on the culture and history of Lithuania, as well as his famous poems Vitolorauda, Mindowe, and Witoldowe boje (The Battles of Vytautas), the latter of which was also translated into German. He pictures the death of the Lithuanian Prince Algirdas (Olgerd) in a completely romantic way:

> Thus ends Olgerd. Hundreds of lamenting women
> Now cease their moans and cries.
> They washed, then clothed the body of the old man
> In White. The golden wizos was not lacking,
> They girded him with the white sword,
> The neck they surrounded with white crape,
> Within it gold for the path to eternity.
> At his belt hung the sling, on his head
> The pointed fur hat, the bow lay sideways.
> The old man sat as if he were still alive,
> But the closed eye looked no more.
> But the withered breast breathed no more.
> He seemed to be resting from battle and from life,
> Opposite stood brothers and companions,
> The sons, priests, and all the servants;
> They drank to him a horn full of alus,
> Taking their leave from Olgerd under tears
> And dedicating to him songs for a good night.
> The mourning women sat round about
> And collected the tears in vessels.

The past of Lithuania is also treated by Chodzko (1795-1865) (25) in his poems, but above

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25. A short presentation of Chodzko in

*[2nd quarter of 19th cent. -- Analyst]

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25. A short presentation of Chodzko in the German language is found in Vol. 2, Nos. 6/7 of the periodical Litauen, 1917. The background of his tales is formed by the city of Vilna (the bank of the Wilja, the seats of the nobility on the Antokol, etc.).His poetic works, tales, sagas, and portrayals of the countryside he divides into two groups: "Lithuanian Pictures" and "Lithuanian Sagas."

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538 all by /218/ Ludwig Kondratowicz (1823-1862), born of noble parents, who was adopted as a Lithuanian. He, too, stands artistically under the influence of Mickiewicz. His historical poem of the death of the Lithuanian commander Margis, who together with his heroic company, committed suicide in order not to fall into the hands of the enemy, became known to wider circles. While the battle still rages around the fortress, the sacrificial fires already blaze:

And under the sacrificial knife they fall,
 man for man,
The priestess of the pagans carries the
 victims to the wooden pile.
Lithuania's sons all, intoxicated with
 madness and anger,
Now slay each other and fall into the
 flames.
The father hurries to the cradle and throws
 his own son
In, where, rapidly consuming, the flames
 blaze around him;
The mother presses her little child's
 scorched body to her heart,
Before she is killed, she dies of grief.(26)

26. A. Paulukat, op. cit., pp. 36-38 and 42.

The most important of these poems had at

538 The most important of these poems had at least to be mentioned in the present context;[1] for they were sooner or later translated into the Lithuanian language and in their own period were read primarily by the circles of Lithuanian boyars and high nobility. In them is mirrored all the liveliness with which, after Mickiewicz, the historical memories of the people were reawakened. And when the author of the Lithuanian national hymn began it with the words: "Lithuania, fatherland, land of our heroes, let us derive strength from our past"--we see here clearly how strongly these historical memories, which the poetry of the period liberated from the dust of the archives,
* 538 191 influenced the later liberation movement. Around the middle of the nineteenth century the fear of a Lithuanian separatist movement emerged for the first time among the Polish literati. In that
[814] period, when Kossarczewski, in conjunction with German research (Schleicher), /219/ investigated the question of the scientific significance of the Lithuanian language and thereby directed the interest of wide circles to the present, the Warsaw man of letters Kaszewski wrote: "I understand the scientific investigation of the Lithuanian language, I also recognize that this language is useful for the simple people, also for the purpose of educating them in literature, but it would be utopia to wish to transform it into a language of the educated and literate, especially since Lithuania has already expressed all the nobility of its spirit and soul in the language of Mickiewicz (i.e. Polish language, V.J.)."(27)

27. Biržiška, op. cit.

To be sure, fears of this sort were still premature, for as long as the interest in Lithuania's people and history was essentially limited to the class of the nobility, which nourished

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[1] [Poems in Polish on Lithuanian historical themes--Analyst]

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191 the language out of dilettantism or a romantic attitude, Lithuanian-Polish unity remained an inseperable article of faith--in his song on the uprising of 1830 Valančius was still able to name Samogitians and Poles in one breath ("For already are coming real Poles, Samogitians under the lord of Gelgadas," Palangos Juzē, p. 43.). The compromise formula still applied which had become the slogan of the Lithuanian nobility and outlines the peculiar relationships of the two peoples: "Sum gente lituanus, natione polonus" ["I am a Lithuanian by race, a Pole by nationality"]. The Lithuanian language also, in spite of all preparatory work, still resembled that wild foundling of which Bezzenberger speaks, and still had found no entrance into the palaces of high literature. (28)

> 28. In the introduction to the second edition of the Polish grammar by the Suvalkijan clergyman Totoraitis, who has done a great deal in the field of popular education, the publisher writes: "With all the beauty of the Lithuanian language, one cannot speak and write in it about so many things as in Polish." Then follows the warning: "Do not forget your beloved native language nor be ashamed of it, as many of you are, who almost will not admit that you are able to speak Lithuanian; and guard with your whole heart the Lithuanian language in which you find a very valuable treasure; that is, a fine knowledge and all sorts of useful information." (1861) Biržiška, op. cit., p. 105.

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But the final separation of Lithuanian

191 literature from Polish was already in preparation,

814 and, although at first still in the stiff and unaccustomed clothing of awkward expressions and

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formulations, the Lithuanian language entered a land which had until now been closed to it: in the year 1845 Simon Daukantas (1793-1864) published his voluminous work on the life of the ancient Lithuanians and Samogitians. [191] The son of a Samogitian forester, Daukantas received his education at the schools of Kretinga and Kalvarija, at the gymnasium in Vilna, and finally at the university there /220/ (1811-1821), which also had a decisive influence on his life. Long years of study of the archives in Königsberg and Riga as well as a 15-year stay in St. Petersburg, where he occupied himself in detailed study of the so-called "Lithuanian prosody," gave him the material for his work, which we can best describe as a "cultural history of ancient Lithuania." Daukantas gives in this work a plastic image of ancient Lithuanian folk life. The life of the farmers, their customs and habits, their religious festivals and celebrations, receive as detailed a presentation as the governmental organization, army, courts, warfare, monetary system, and commerce of the old period. The work closes with the year 1569. So strongly is Daukantas still under the influence of the romantic current of the period, and, not unlike Norbutt, so filled with the desire to stress the uniqueness of his people that his work--although the author fulfilled all the prerequisites of scientific procedure--cannot be regarded as a purely scientific accomplishment. For this reason it often had to undergo sever criticism even during the life of the author. At times Daukantas rises to poetic heights, for example when he describes the mysterious forests of pagan Lithuania. In the 70's and 80's, when the Lithuanian movement grew stronger, his work made a deep impression on the youth. He laid the foundation for the romantic glorification of the past which was characteristic of the "Aušra period." Daukantas was not only a historian. He also recognized the pressing need

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for improving popular education. Thus he left behind the most varied books and articles of an instructive and educational nature, from language methods and arithmetic books to articles on beekeeping and gardening. He was a tireless worker, enthusiastic in his ideas, and he used all his funds for the printing of his books. He died in great poverty. (*)

[113] * I have given an extract from his chief work in my book Alt-Litauen (Berlin, 1926), V.J.

/221/ Daukantas was the last representative of romantic literature, for even at his time a new trend had set in, which was upheld by a strong realism. Its most important representative was the Bishop of Samogitia, Valančius (1801-1875), the son of a Samogitian free peasant. After attending the priesthood seminaries of Varniai and Vilna--the latter seminary corresponded to the later Clerical Academy--he was consecrated and soon afterward became a teacher of religion in his home province at the gymnasium in Kražiai. The copious library which this gymnasium still preserved from the time of the Jesuits gave him the stimulus and also the possibility for his most important scientific work, a history of the Bishopric of Samogitia. In 1840 we find him as professor at the Clerical Academy in Vilna. In 1842 the academy was transferred to St. Petersburg. Here Valančius entered into a close friendship with Daukantas, who was eight years his senior. From 1845-49 he was rector of the seminary in Varniai, and in 1850 the Bishopric of Samogitia was given to him. In 1864 the see was transferred to Kaunas.

Valančius' History of the Bishopric of Samogitia appeared in 1848 and was even translated into Polish twelve years later. Written with great objectivity, clarity, and scientific earnestness,

* 7: Jungfer-255 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5LithuaniansRB5

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84 this work is unquestionably the most important scientific publication that Lithuanian literature of the nineteenth century can exhibit. This bishop does not even shrink from statistics and gives us an exact presentation of the churches of the bishopric, the schools and monasteries, and the cultural peculiarities of its inhabitants. Since many of the writings and documents used by the author have today been lost, this work still represents today an irreplaceable source of historical information. Quite in contrast to Daukantas' style, Valančius' language is light, flowing, animated, and plastic in its expression. *

538 The bishop also developed a productive literary activity in the religious realm. Here may be mentioned his Life of the Saints, a book that /222/ represents a real work of art in its language, its style, and the plasticity of its expression. But the great influence and reverence which the bishop gradually won in wide circles of his people he owed to his popular writings. Even in his parentage Valančius was the first "peasant" bishop of Lithuania, destined to be a man of the people and a writer of the people. Completely by himself he found the tone in which one speaks to peasants. And if this tone was wometimes quite rough and even satirical, this did not harm the seriousness of his writings, and he could afford to write, for example: "When the sick woman had received the Lord's Supper like a noonday meal, she was content," or "when the son had died, all the relatives made noises like a cat that sees a fish and does not catch it." Pleasure in such drastic comparisons lay in his blood, as can be seen from his collection Samogitian Proverbs published in 1867, the largest collection of Lithuanian proverbs that existed for a long time. Almost more famous became the bishop's own saying: "If you want to die in a swamp, go to Babtai," and others.

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In the popular writings of the bishop the pedagogical purpose is so unnoticeable that they are still eagerly read, and not only in the countryside. Favorable for their further dissemination was the fact that Valančius kept to the Samogitian dialect of his homeland but never emphasized its peculiarities, so that his writings were easy to understand in the whole language area. Among the approximately 30 writings of this sort, especially wide dissemination was achieved by the Booklet for Children, the Booklet for Adults, and above all his Josef from Palanga (1869). This Josef is a taylor who wanders all over the country for four years, works for peasants and boyars, and, back home, reports to his parents on his experiences. The book is of great interest from a folklore point of view. It gives us in little plastic images a good view of the material and spiritual life of the peasants in High and Low Lithuania. Weekdays and holidays, /223/ customs and habits are seen here with a sharp eye. A real classic is the detailed presentation of wedding customs. The following little extract gives us a glance into the manner of portrayal and the animation which the author attains in all simplicity of style. (29)

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29. Palangos Juzē (Josef from Palanga), 5th revised ed. (Vilniuje, 1906), pp. 33-34.

After finishing my work I hiked in the direction of Zarēnai, and arranged it so that I would arrive in this little city in the evening. After I had passed through the Minija, I climbed up a high mountain. I looked around me and saw hills without end.

While I walked thus through the hilly countryside I met a chubby- faced person who was riding rapidly by with peasant horses. When he saw me, he called to me :"Stoi!" Now although I understand

#538 absolutely no Polish and Russian, I at least understood that I was to stand still, and so I stopped. The man asked me again in Russian: "koho tibi toks?" (Polish for "Who are you?" V.J.) I answered: "I have no pigtail and am not of cork either." The chubby-faced one: "Maus̆ ti biloti?" ("Do you have a ticket?" i.e. a passport.) I answered "I don't speak Russian." Since he could not make himself understood by me, he went his way, but waved again with his hand and said: "Look, look, I shall meet you again at the inn." ("Smutri, smutri, jau tavi i karčiama najadu.") I did not understand these words and headed for Zarenai. There I entered the inn and asked a Jew in German who had ridden by. He said a Russian assessor.

I went into the church and found there many people who were singing in Samogitian. In their clothing I noticed a great variety. The men wore jackets, of cloth or hand-woven and colored black. Others wore gray ones to which white braided cords had been attached. Almost all the women wore long-cut skirts and their heads were covered with bought fabrics; some also had hats on.

/224/ After I had left the church, I accosted a man (it was the boyar Neverdauskis) and asked: "Why is there such diversity in the clothing here? I am a stranger and would very much like to know." He answered: "Don't you know, in our parish--wherever there is a little hill there is a little estate. Almost all the people you see here in the church are boyars or semi-boyars. We have no rich lord here at all. And the peasants have copied it from them and dress like boyars."

One should notice in this description the fact that the Lithuanian understands German, but so little Russian and Polish that he even confuses the two languages; while the assessor, in the effort to express himself in a popular manner, makes use of a linguistic hodgepodge that has a comical effect.

* comical effect.

538 Valančius wrote a sequel to his Josef, which is not quite on the same level, and the Tales of Anton Tretininkas, in which a whole series of anecdotes, legends, and historical events are related.

*538 At about the same time Anton Vienažindis 533 (1841-1892) wrote his songs. In him we encounter for the first time a true poet of folk songs, who lives completely in his feelings, whose verses grew out of an inner artistic necessity, and who had at his disposal a plasticity of expression that was rare not only for that period, but also for a later one:

Songs, you--you my soul!
Braid, weave the words!
From the flight of the swallow
Take your wings!
Fly, soar, run with the wind!

The most beautiful of his songs arose out of a youthful love affair. The young poet stands before his first great inner experience as before an indescribable miracle: /Unnumbered page with illustration--Čiurlionis, Tempera Painting/

/225/ Tell me why the nightingale sings
In green bushes, at the murmuring stream,
Why the gray little bee stirs
In blossoming trees, in fragrant flowers.
Tell me how your eye sees it,
Why beauty attracts everybody.
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Tell me why from that day on
When your eye shone in beauty,
From that day on so deep into my heart
Your image alone made its mark
Tell me how your eyes see it,

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Can you comprehend it, can you understand
it?

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Oh how blessed is beauty on earth:
For you all songs and all my gifts!
And should I obtain fulfillment today,
I will as a servant have you for a queen!
Do not talk, be silent, do not speak to me--
If I am not worth your love, have pity
on me!

The love of the young poet for his neighbor's daughter, Rosa Stauskaite, led, however, to the most serious disappointment. After the second uprising her family was deported to Samara. This fact shook Vienažindis so strongly that a complete change took place in him. The spring from which he created seemed suddenly exhausted. From then on he spent his life in the priesthood, and at the same time in uninspired, prosaic work, until on August 17, 1892, highly honored by all who knew him, he closed his eyes. The poetic period of his life thus includes only the few years of his youth. But his songs, which touch the whole scale of feelings from exultant joy to deepest grief, are a memorial for him in the heart of his people, and the poet has, perhaps not quite unjustly, been compared with Béranger. As to his place within Lithuanian literature, what /226/ Tumas writes in his history of literature is applicable: "He belongs among the poets Schiller calls 'naive'; contemplation was strange to him, he did not know the literature of the world . . .But his whole life he listened to the heartbeat of the people . . . Vienažindis represents the ideal religious Lithuania. He did not exhaust the whole soul of his people, but he created out of its depths and showed it as it really is . . .How like the

Lithuanian dainos his songs sound!" (30)

30. J. Tumas, Lietuvių literatūros draudžiamojo laiko paskaitos (Lectures on Lithuanian Literature at the Time of the Prohibition on Printing)(Kaunas, 1925), pp. 64-65.

Anton Baranauskas (1835-1902) is to be names as the last poet of this period, a bishop in the grand style, philologist, shepherd of souls, mathematician, and poet--all in one person. In his talent Baranauskas comes close to Duonelaitis. The career of the bishop recalls in many ways that of Bishop Valančius. He, too, was of peasant parentage and attended the seminary for priests as Varniai and the Clerical Academy in St. Petersburg (1858-1862), he, too, later obtained there a professorship and was finally summoned to the seminary for priests, in Kaunas, where he was active for 30 years. He died as Bishop of Seiniai.

Baranauskas began his poetic career with verses in the Polish language, but very quickly transferred to the Lithuanian language. His religious songs became familiar, especially the St. Mary songs. His most important creation, the poem The Grove of Anykščiai, was written in the years 1858-59. Here the poet lets three different ages arise before our eyes--from the old era when thick forests murmured in Anykščiai he leads us into the period of the "grove" of his youth, and in a third section he pictures the sad present, when the grove falls victim to the ax and bare hills project into the countryside. In his poetry Baranauskas gives strong poetic expression to a deep feeling for nature, and at the same time there rings in his verses his grief over the devastation of his homeland by its many oppressors. If the formative element is subordinate to the purely lyrical one, *538 the forest lives in this poetry; its voice speaks, its colors, tones, and odors /227/ come directly alive. And thus it becomes understandable, too, that this--unfortunately hardly translatable--poetry is still regarded in Lithuania today as the poetic high point of that period. Along with the Grove, Baranauskas[1] left behind another small poem, The Journey to St. Petersburg. He portrays here in verse form the impressions of a journey, in which this time it is not nature, but man--the peasant and his fate--which stands in the foreground. Here he also finds strong words against the "foreign lords" who enslave his homeland: "The broad highway does not groan as much under the heavy wagons as our peasants complain of the foreign lords," and in another place he says that the Lithuanians, persecuted by the "sons of the North" (i.e. Russians, V.J.), will nevertheless 186] not perish. Thus nationalistic tones are also mixed in the poems of this writer, and they were seized upon and carried on by the people. Baranauskas is undoubtedly of considerable importance in the awakening of national consciousness. In his later life the bishop retired almost completely from all literary efforts and lived wholly for his clerical calling.

The picture of Lithuanian literature of the middle of the last century would not be complete without the name of Laurynas Ivinskis. Widely travelled in the country as a private teacher and sometimes also supported by the landowners, he published up to the year 1864, 17 editions of his Samogitian Agricultural Calendar, which was widely distributed in Lithuania. This calendar replaced the Lithuanian press which was still nonexistent at that time, and thus reached in content far beyond the boundaries of an ordinary village calendar. We find here both fairy tales, songs, and proverbs, as well as verses by Poška, Valiūnas, indeed even Baranauskas' Grove of

[1] [1835-1902--Analyst]

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538 Anykščiai, although the latter was written in the High Lithuanian dialect. In addition there were translations from foreign literatures, e.g. parts of Milton's Paradise Lost and other works.

/228/ D. The Period of the Prohibition on Printing (1865-1904)

1. The Epoch of Aušra

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178 At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century occurred two political events which had a basic effect on the further social, national, and thereby also literary development of Lithuania. In the year 1861 the end of serfdom in the government of Kowno was decreed by Alexander II. The peasants were freed of all villeinage and services and now sat as free men on free soil and land. The liberation of the peasants effected a far-reaching social differentiation: until now social rise from the class of serfs was possible only in individual cases, specifically where the landlord accidentally became aware of a special talent and was inclined to foster it. This rise itself, however, was limited at best to an education for the priesthood. The entrance into a higher class, which, as we have shown before, was almost completely under the influence of Polish culture and language, led in most cases to the result that the few who rose in this way from the peasantry became strangers to their own people and language and felt themselves as belonging to the class of Polish "lords." Only at the moment when the whole peasantry became free, when possibilities for advancement were created not only for individuals but for all the people, could a Lithuanian educated class be established. Again, only this class could become the bearer of the new Lithuanian idea as well as all the intellectual and artistic efforts connected with it which from now on could be developed on a broader base. Besides the former Polish educated class a Lithuanian class made its appearance.

The Polish uprising, which took place in the

565 178 year 1863 and also flared up at individual spots in Lithuania, led at first to a certain favoring of the Lithuanians above the Poles /229/ by the Russian government. Thus the Lithuanians were granted a gymnasium in Marijampolē and a teacher's seminary in Veveriai. Also, with the ending of serfdom, which took place in 1863 under the imprint of the revolution, the peasants were spared the ransom. A series of favorable circumstances, the natural condition of the soil, the application of the Code of Napoleon, the removal of the mixed field system and the vicinity of East Prussia led to the further result that in the followin decades the material, and thereby also the spiritual, development of the peasantry in Suvalkija progressed faster than in the remaining sections of Lithuania. A prosperous peasantry arose here, from whose sons the nucleus of the new Lithuanian educated class was developed. The Russian government, striving to suppress the Polish influence which had shown itself in the revolution of 1863, granted the Lithuanian school graduates scholarships to attend the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow, in order to Russify them there, but in any case to remove them from Polish influence. But the development could no longer be held back, the Russification miscarried, and from among the graduates of this gymnasium went forth the first leaders who fought for the right of the people to [195] their own cultural development. The predominant position which the area of Suvalkija assumed in this intellectual development--for at first it was only a development--is also illuminated by the fact that the Suvalkijan dialect was made the basis of the literary language which was now gradually formed. What Marijampolē was for the south, Mitau later became for the north, since here too, as a result of the special privileges of the Balti Germans, the Lithuanian element found a place for independent development.

7: Jungfer-264 S-4,5(no date)1938 RB5Lithuanians RB5

565 Among the young Lithuanian intelligentsia
178 there arose very quickly a differentiation between
those who obtained a religious education and
those who turned to the secular sciences. Both
groups, however, found themselves together in the
cultural battle which was now breaking out against
* the Russification plans of the Czarist government.
538 Then /230/ the latter took a step which had never
661 happened before in the history of peoples by proclaiming, on August 6, 1865, that six governments of western Russia were forbidden to print writings in Latin letters. If this decree, which was not repealed until April 24, 1904, was aimed above all at the Polish literature, it also had at first the effect of a death blow on the further development of the young Lithuanian literature. It soon became evident that it was impossible to use the Russian alphabet for the Lithuanian language, and thus this prohibition was equivalent to a prohibition of all Lithuanian literature, including the religious, which tended to arouse special bitterness in this Roman-Catholic country. In order completely to paralyze the development of a Lithuanian educated class and therewith the awakening of an independent national consciousness, there followed a second prohibition according to which Lithuanians in their home provinces could not obtain any posts in the Russian government service. Thus the lay intelligentsia which was now arising, insofar as it turned to government service, was removed into the interior of Russia. A knowledge of these circumstances is a basic condition for the understanding of the further development of Lithuanian literature, for it is now clear why the further intellectual and literary development was carried forward from now on by forces that started their activities outside the political borders of the country. In addition it explains why, in this struggle for existence, whose center of gravity lay from now on on the

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661 purely political side, the literary and artistic element had to recede far into the background.

Bishop Valančius originated the idea of printing Lithuanian books in Tilsit and then having them secretly brought across the border. 214 These books carried Vilna as their place of publication, and as date of publication any year prior to the proclamation of the prohibition. In the course of time it was possible /231/ to cover the whole country with a network of so-called "book carriers" or "book bringers" (Lithuanian: knygnešys), who secretly smuggled the books across the border and distributed them within the country, although they were threatened with prison, even death, and deportation to Siberia. The Russians set a price of 500 rubles on the head of the book carrier Bielakas in 1890. Even the clergy was not spared, a number of priests were banished to Siberia, and a trial hung over Bishop Valančius himself in 1870-71. (31)

113 31. A good insight into this period is given by the comprehensive two-volume collection by P. Ruseckas, Knygnešys (The Book Bringers), Vol. I (Kaunas, 1926); Vol. II (1928); it contains numerous recollections and accounts of these men themselves, along with copious references. Otherwise, too, this period in Lithuanian literature has been fre-

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214 Although in the decade from 1864-73 no less than 214, and from 1874-83 even 270 Lithuanian books and articles (principally religious in nature) were printed and distributed,(32) the year

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32. Figures of the Lighuanian bibliographer Baltromaitis.

the year

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204 1883 is the first one that is again decisive for the trend of Lithuanian literature. In March of that year Dr. Basanavičius published in Ragnit the first number of a monthly newspaper with the name Aušra (The Dawn). This newspaper,became the center of the young Lithuanian literature and intelligentsia. It remained neutral with regard to the Poles, and did not actually have a political program. None of its publishers was a politician. They fought fpr the rights of the Lithuanian language, the Lithuanian schools, and Lithuanian education. The new national consciousness, however, which was the real foundation and prerequisite for all these demands, was carried by this newspaper into the farthest regions of Lithuania. (33) In this lies its decisive sig-

> 33. Cf. on this point Eduard Hermann, Die litauische Gemeinsprache als Problem der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft (Göttingen, 1929), p. 103: "I have been told by many old Lithuanians how as students they practically devoured the periodicals whose importation to Russia was forbidden so that they could read them only secretly, and how the national idea thus inspired the youth. Through these periodicals many learned Lithuanian for the first time. The essays were often read aloud to friends, since few copies were available."

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195 nificance. It became important for a new revival of Lithuanian literature in that it provided a firm basis for a general literary language which had been lacking. There inevitably evolved the necessity of creating a general literary language, understandable to all, out of the numerous Lithuanian dialects. To be sure, this work did not succeed at one stroke, especially since

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538 204 195 the editors changed and there was no linguist among them. Primarily the manner of writing remained quite varied. (34)

[113] 34. Cf. on this question: P. Jonikas, "Apie Aušros rašomąją kalbą (On the Literary Language of the Aušra) in Vairas, 1933, Vol. V, No. 12, p. 418, where further references are also given; also the already mentioned work of Hermann (fn. 33) in the Abh. d. königl. Ges. d. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl., No. 1.

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538 204 The world of ideas of Aušra stands in a direct relationship to that peculiar world of ideas that we /232/ became acquainted with in observing the Vilna period of Lithuanian romanticism. A romantic concern with the past of the people and their language (translations of poems by Polish romantics) is characteristic of this period. When the present is treated, elegica, thoroughly unrevolutionary moods emerge, as in the simple poem by Maironis, "Lithuanian Misery," contained in No. 6 of the year 1885, which reads:

Great God, dear God,
Say, wherein lies our sin,
Why is the sky dark,
Why do cold winds blow?

Spread over us your wings--
Although we are sinners out of weakness,
Protect us and make us one,
For we are your children.

The newspaper Aušra lasted for only three years. The romanticism of an idealized past and national unity demanded the complement of the present. Above all the split in the Lithuanian intelligentsia, mentioned before, which immediately

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538 204 became evident at the start of the development, led to the founding of four new organs [illegible] few years later: the world of ideas of Aušra that mixture of religious idealism and patriotic romanticism, lived on in the clerical periodical Apžvalga (Review) (Tilsit, 1890-96) and, after the latter had ceased to exist, in Tevynēs Sargas (Guardian of the Fatherland). The second, more realistically and practically minded group made the newspapers Varpas (The Bell) and Ūkininkas (The Peasant) its mouthpiece. The further progress of Lithuanian literature in the years following was of necessity practically oriented, since the awakening of a /233/ national consciousness appeared to that generation the most important, indeed almost the only, task of art. * 538 But several poets emerged from this period who were to exert their literary influence on later generations (34)

34. /See above./

Born of the romantic spirit of Aušra are the creations of Vincas Pietaris (1850-1902). The son of a peasant in the district of Vilkaviškis, after graduating from the Marijampolē gymnasium he studied first physics, then medicine, and passed the state examination at the Moscow University in 1879. We find him later as a district physician in Ustiuschna, where he died. Return to his Lithuanian homeland was forbidden him, since as the recipient of a government scholarship he had to accept the position that was assigned him by the Russian government. Pietaris' literary activity began around 1890. From then on we find his name frequently in the Lithuanian press, as well as in American-Lithuanian papers. Pietaris, like nearly all the Lithuanian writers at that time, was in the first place a journalist. This also placed a stamp on his artistic creations. His most important publications are his memoirs which appeared in 1905 in America, as well as his romantic tale Algimantas or the Lithuanians in the Thirteenth Century, to which the one-sided glorification of Poland by Sienkiewicz had inspired him. The memoirs are lively and written in a clear style and especially provide an interesting insight into the conditions in the Russified school system of that period. The tale Algimantas (new edition, Kaunas, 1921-22) deals with the life of this prince up to his attainment of power. It begins with the campaign of the cruel Prince Aršis, to whom father and grandfather fall victim. Algimantas himself, a small boy, is carried off to White Russia by Prince Romanas, the ally of Aršis, and grows up there under the name Danyla. Later, through cunning, his mother's relatives, above all Basasis Dimitras, succeed in freeing Algimantas. In the battle which now follows, Algimantas wins and Aršis is killed. In the further battles against his opponents /234/ the prince is also successful, and thereby lays the foundation of a powerful kingdom.

With all its psychological weaknesses, the tale is flowing and light, written with unquestionable talent, and is interesting especially for the lively descriptions of old customs and habits. Medieval atmosphere was obviously less important to the author; his Lithuanians of the thirteenth century recall more those of his own time. Pietaris gained dynamic importance for the development of the young Lithuanian literature in that he opened to it a great new realm--that of historical narration. The idealization of the past, although sometimes naive, is completely rooted in the ideas of Aušra; and his tender love for the homeland, from which he has been barred, often finds passionate expression. Thus he has the old Sereika say:

"If you want to become a singer, my child, then listen to the songs which ring within you and preserve them in your heart. Listen to the echo of olden times which flares up from our land; feel that which our ancestors felt; and, collect everything in your heart, if there is room for this treasure. In the depths of the forests, in the ice of the rivers, on the old graves of our ancestors lament the enchanted voices of the songs. Take them from there and you will become a singer. No man will teach you how to be a singer."

Among the further works of Pietaris may be named Keidošių Onutė, a tale in which the problem of the intellectual education of the Lithuanian woman is raised; and the stories of the life and death of the fox--a lively cycle of Lithuanian animal tales.

Among the sharpest and most independent spirits of the period belongs the young physician Vincenz Kudirka (1858-1899). His career is actually typical of the inner upheaval which a large section of the Lithuanian yough /235/ experienced in the second half of the last century. He grew up among gymnasium and seminery students, whose everyday speech was Polish, and was educated at the University of Warsaw. Suddenly influenced by the ideas which the men of Aušra were disseminating among the people, he underwent a complete inner transformation, later described in his recollections. He became a political fighter, even founded in Warsaw a Lithuanian student association, and after his return to his Suvalkijan homeland, put his whole soul into the founding of the new periodical Varpas. He sacrificed himself to the new task with tireless labor. Persecuted by the Russian gendarmes, himself seriously ill with a lung condition, he still worked for his idea in his sickbed in the Crimea and on the Adriatic, where he vainly sought recovery. He died at the age of 41.

*538 Although the chief work of Kudirka is of a journalistic and political nature--there exists today a complete edition of his writings--his name also passed over into literature. Along with a series of bitter and polished satires concerning the sins of the Russian administration (Recollections of a Lithuanian Bridge, 1896), there are poems of a political nature and translations of Schiller's Wilhelm Tell and Jungfrau von Orleans, Byron's Cain, and other works based on stirring and patriotic ideas.

With Kudirka, as has often been remarked, Lithuanian literature entered a new path which had until now only been pointed out by Valančius--realism. But even Kudirka's[1] translations and own poems reflect sometimes that ideal romantic spirit of the Aušra epoch which allows him, the creator of the Lithuanian hymn, to say in it:

> Lithuania, homeland, land of our heroes,
> Let us derive strength from the past,
> Let your children follow the paths of right
> And work for your own, your people's
> happiness!
>
> /236/ Let Lithuania's sun drive away the
> darkness,
> Let right and truth guide our steps,
> Let love for you burn in our hearts,
> Let concord flower in Lithuania's people!

In many ways similar to Kudirka was the far younger Pranas Vaičaitis (1876-1901), who came from a rural background. After graduating from the gymnasium at Marijampole he went, against the wishes of his parents, to the University of St. Petersburg and obtained there, through the efforts of friends, a position in the library of the Academy of Sciences. Several patriotic Lithuanian songs found during a house search landed him into prison for a month. A year later he passed the state law examination (1900), but consumption, which had eaten away at his life since his earliest youth, set a limit to his further plans. He died in his homeland at 25. His artistic work moved in part in that realistic-positivistic direction already characterized above, which was represented by the newspaper Varpas. But the influence of Russian and Polish poets, particularly with regard to form, is also evident (Pushkin).

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[1] [1858 - 1899 -- Analyst]

In his lyrics Vaičaitis shows a strong satiric talent. The inner hollowness of the educated classes, their drunkenness, the giving up of their own nationality in favor of the Polish are bitterly criticized. In addition there is a second group of poems whose material was taken from the old heroic period of the people, and others with a patriotic content. His talent appears strongest in the realm of pure pyricism, primarily in his elegies, in which the sad fate of his life finds expression. The genuineness of feeling, the simplicity of expression, and the quiet sadness with which the young dying poet takes leave of the world have made his lyrics known in wide circles, above all among the Lithuanians in America.

/237/ My life's sun begins to set,
Ever longer the shadows slip down,
My struggling heart longs for rest,
And daily I step nearer to the grave.

Perhaps I shall soon have set my wanderer's staff
On the threshhold of eternity,
But I shall send to the people
The songs of my youth.

So fly then, you songs, woven of misery,
To young and old through the villages,
And comfort the hearts which cares have worn out,

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And dry their tears and strengthen their
minds.

## 2. Prose Writing by Women at the Turn of the Century

Toward the end of the century a split developed in Lithuanian literature. On the one hand, the idealism which was connected with the traditions of the Aušra epoch and was being newly revived, lived on in a patriotic-religious trend and found its strongest expression in poets, such as particularly Maironis; on the other hand, we find also a largely realistic prose writing which took its material essentially from the social and economic conditions of the villages as well as from the relations between the people and nobility. Its representatives were mostly female members of the impoverished Samogitian nobility. We remember at this point that Samogitia already once before had played a role in Lithuanian literature, and that in this province, filled with the minor nobility, the Lithuanian idea had never completely vanished, even among the outwardly Polonized landowners. Also, with estates generally small, the social contrast between landlords and peasants, who often differed hardly at all economically, could not be as pronounced here as in other cases. /238/ In any case, as we shall see from the following, unusual, mostly difficult, circumstances of life made some members of the nobility join the new Lithuanian cultural movement, in opposition to their fellow members. In this period, too, the "concept of the Lithuanian" that had been vague since the Union of Ljublin, and its distinction from that of the "Pole," was quite clearly worked out and brought to the consciousness of the broadest classes of the people. Thus, for example, the poetess Šatrijos Ragana, still before the repeal of the prohibition on printing,-

wrote in the newspaper Tēvynēs Sargas; "If we will be virtuous, improve ourselves, and love our fatherland, what can they do to us then who wrong us? They may send us a hundred times more priests--not one of us will become a Greek-Catholic. They may build twice as many schools--not one Lithuanian will become a Muskovite. May the Poles play up to us and disparage our speech and manners--we shall always remain Lithuanians and be proud of it!"

Among the women prose writers of this epoch which began with the discontinuation of Aušra, four names can be mentioned--Bitē (Gabrielē Petkevičaitē), Žemaitē (Julija Žimantienē), Lazdynų Pelēda (two sisters Ivanauskaitē), and Šatrijos Ragana (Marija Pečkauskaitē). It may be noted in this connection that during the period of the prohibition on printing the habit was established among nearly all the Lithuanian writers of not writing under their real names, but under some characteristic pseydonym.

Gabrielē Petkevičaitē was born on a northern Lithuanian estate, the daughter of a boyar, in 1861. After a very hard childhood she attended the Dorothea School for Girls and later the Higher Trinity School for Girls in Mitau, which she left at the age of 17 with her certificate of maturity. The following years became decisive for her inner development; for years she helped her father, a well known physician, with his practice and thereby also came into close contact with the poorest classes of the rural population. She published her first tales in Varpas under her first name, the later ones under the name "Bitē" (The Bee), since she was a great friend of and expert on bees.

After the death of her father she moved to Vilna and became there a collaborator in various Lithuanian papers.

In her prose works Petkevičaitē is a realist.

Her tales, not numerous, are sustained by a strong social experience. She feels deeply the cruelty of men toward each other as the source of all earthly suffering. Here she describes the harsh peasant who through his obstinacy destroys the happiness of his son; there is the poor motherless servant girl on the estate who is seduced by the inspector and experiences all the tragedy of unwed motherhood.

> A slim little thing she was, with little hands like those of an infant. From what should they have grown and become strong? . . . From the fatless turnip soup and the black bread that was eaten in the cottage and that the hand of her stepmother shoved before her? . . . Perhaps from the work outside and inside under which she almost collapsed even as a very small child, almost from the time when she had stopped crawling and was able to stand on her feet. When she now crossed the farmyard to the pigpen under the yoke with the full feed-pails, her slender body actually curved. The hasty little steps of the little feet, the swaying of the yoke back and forth from one shoulder to the other clearly showed that such an exertion was too hard for the undeveloped body of the girl. But day in and day out she ran thus back and forth, in the winter with the pails, in the summer often with a sack of green fodder on her back.
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> Her head lowered, her eyes of indifferent color carefully gazing ahead from under her forehead, with small, wind-tanned cheeks and constantly closed lips without a drop of blood, a /240/ faded cloth on her head, her shoulders and body covered with worn-out rags—that was the picture of the swineMagda, as she was gen-

erally called on the farm.

Even more effective in its realism is the presentation of the fate of the unhappy baby itself, whom its guardian, Magda's stepmother, most terribly neglects and finally leaves outside on a cold autumn night, and thus "offers it to God," so that He will take it to himself.

In such portrayals, which undoubtedly spring from genuine experiences, lies the force of the writer. The feeling and understanding for the social problems of her time and surroundings, the deep sympathy for the poorest of the poor, form with Petkevičaitē a certain synthesis with a second theme of her writings: with the portrayal of the social contrasts she combines in her works the presentation of the national contrasts between the Polonized nobility of the country and the Lithuanian peasants. This also provides the material for her only novel, Ad astra (1933), which, although written much later, deals with the "Aušra epoch." Historically the novel is not without interest, but the large subject obviously surpassed the artistic capabilities of the author. Petkevičaitē gained far greater importance through her activity in the political and educational fields. After 1900 the estate of her father became the spiritual center of the Lithuanian youth, and her saying is characteristic: "If we shall not be for our people like those fiery pillars that once showed the Jewish people their way in the desert . . .what will we accomplish? And what good shall we be?" (35) And nothing illustrates the great esteem in

35. J. Ambrazevičius, "Gabrielē Petkevičiatē-Bitē," Židinys, 1931, No. 4, pp. 354-364.

which this woman was held in Lithuania more strongly than the fact that she was elected to the constitutional seim and acted as chairman at its first session--an intelligent and high-minded woman, warm-hearted and honorable, filled with the ideals of a genuine humanism.

Incomparably stronger from the literary point of view was the personality of Julija Beniuševičiutē Žimantinē, who /Unnumbered page with illustration--Čirulionis, Scherzo from the Summer Sonata/ /241/ wrote under the name Žemaitē /The Samogitian/. She was born in 1845 on an estate in the vicinity of the city of Plunge. In the house of her parents, too (just as in that of Bitē), Polish was still spoken, but Žemaitē learned Lithuanian in her earliest youth from the village children of the Bukantiškē estate, where her father served as administrator. Her outward life was unusually difficult. Deprived of all material support already in her early years, she was forced to earn her bread as a seamstress and nurse, and finally married a simple farm worker, Žimantas, whom she presented with two children. Only as a mature woman did Žimantienē, who had never thought about national problems in her youth and had never felt the opposition between Lithuanians and Poles, come to a recognition of her nationality under the influence of the writings coming out of Prussia, which she read secretly. And now an odd phenomenon took place: at the age of almost 50 this woman, who owed nearly all her education to her own efforts and an infinite hunger for books, wrote her first story. It was printed in 1894, and to the end of her life Žimantienē never again put down her pen. She had recognized her pen. She had recognized her real calling.

Her outward life also now became more favorable. Her sketches attracted attention; she came in contact with the young Lithuanian intelligentsia, and became friendly with Gebrielē

Petkevičaitē-Bitē, together with whom she even composed several theater pieces for a village audience. Until the outbreak of the World War she worked on the editorial staff of Lithuanian papers in Vilna. After the end of the war we meet her in the United States, where she raised money among her compatriots for the reconstruction of the country. After her return from America, she died in 1921 in the 76th year of her life. Her pictures show an attractive, intelligent face with a high forehead; she is dressed like a simple village woman and wears a kerchief under which her smoothly parted hair shows.

/242/ Žemaitē's works betray a genuine artistic gift. She always creates intuitively, not according to a prearranged plan. Her creations are thoroughly spontaneous. In her diary Petkevičaitē relates the following charming experience, which is also mentioned by Mykolaitis-Putinas in his literary history (p. 345): at the instigation of Paul Višinskis, Žemaitē and she are supposed to write a play: "Then Žemaitē sits for one day, for two days, but she cannot think of a single subject. Višinskis becomes impatient. Žemaitē justifies herself: 'Look, dear Paul, if something happens that grips my heart, shakes me, or angers me, then I won't have to think at all, but otherwise . . .' The old woman spreads her hands apart and shakes her head. She cannot think of anything."

The manner of her artistic creativity is also clearly determined by the area of literature to which all her creations belong. They are without exception short sketches and tales from the life of the peasant, written with surprising perspicuity and plasticity. All the personalities--and there are quite a few--are seen through the lens of a sharp critical understanding. They characterize themselves by their talk and actions, and Žemaitē avoids nothing more than speaking of

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the inner life of her personalities. Thereby often only the external aspect of life is grasped, but with a naive realism that is thoroughly convincing and whose forecful tones are also not lacking in humor. Although Zemaitē emphasizes the dark side of the village more strongly than its light side, her inner attitude remains thoroughly positive and optimistic. It almost seems as if the poetess transfers her own unusual vital energy to her characters.

Naturally, not all of these short stories are on the same level. When Zemaitē takes as her material the realm of city life which is less familiar to her, her presentation becomes obviously weaker, the characterization less clear. Her village tales, on the other hand, have, besides their /243/ literary value also a considerable folklorish value. Through them we become acquainted with the real life of the Lithuanian village around the turn of the century, with its customs and habits, its prejudices, its rigors, its superstitions, but also its virtues. Let us take, for example, the scene in which a landlord flees into a farmhouse in a storm and there becomes acquainted with all the superstition that comes to life on such occasions. The farmer tells the guest how in such a storm a bewitched dog once ran up to them. As a matter of fact, it was really not a dog, and if one had beaten him with a stick, he certainly would have fallen apart into money.

> "Explain it as you will, money or no money"--excited, the farmer's wife pattered across the hall and kept talking--"but in thunderstorms the devils run about, and how. They crawl somewhere into the house or somewhere else under the roof; then lightning striked the spot . . .why else does it burn?"
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> "When I fell into your house because of the rain, you probably thought I was a devil," laughed the guest.

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"No, the devils don't change into people, only seldom; in a storm there usually appears a cat, a dog, a goat, or some other quick animal. Whose work was this, who broke our window?" The farmer's wife pointed to the battered window. "If his path had not been blocked, he actually would have fallen into our room. But there's a candle burning, we have burnt consecrated herbs and rung a consecrated bell . . .that was no place for Judas."

At times the presentation touches the realm of the grotesque, as in the drastic description of the farm boy, Jonukas Vingis.

The aforesaid Jonukas sauntered through the door, the only son of the Vingiai, according to his father's saying "a man in body and breeding." Bulky, tall, /244/ with very broad shoulders, walking somewhat bent over as the result of his height, his hands full of tar, a mouth like a half-hundredweight measure, his nowe like a cucumber, his eyes swollen, his head very large, hanging forward, with unkempt ash blond hair, with a strong neck rammed into his body; his forehead receding and his cap turned up at an angle. His jacket of coarse cloth of an indifferent color, wrinkled and crumpled, covered with straw and chips of wood. His shirt and pants would have been pleased to be called white--they were thick, worn black, and probably had been washed once in the past year, so that no dog could have bitten through them; he was barefoot, his dirty feet were planted in wooden shoes.

Thus he walked through the room, stretched, opened his mouth in a yawn, looked in a little mirror, and then sat down on the bench at the end of the room and began to scratch around in his pipe and to search for tobacco in his pockets.

The same realism is shown in the conversations of the peasants which she portrays. Since they are written in dialect, they would also need to be translated into dialect in order to reproduce their artistic quality; on the other hand, they are so typically Lithuanian that it seems completely impossible to render into another language their images and expressions in an even remotely adequate fashion. Žemaitē preserved her artistic independence all through her life and never fell victim to the lures of journalism like so many other talented writers of that period.

Artistically weaker, but nevertheless of influence on the development of Lithuanian prose literature is Lazdynų Pelēda. Behind this pseudonym hide two sisters Ivanauskaitē, the elder of whom, Sofia (born 1867, died 1926), will be discussed first. Coming of an artistically educated boyar family--her father was active as a writer and attended the Munich Academy of Art for four years--the sensitive, altruistic, /245/ and visionary girl had been raised without a proper education on a lonely estate, in the unreal atmosphere of poems and sentimental novels. Through her marriage to an impoverished Polish nobleman (Pšibilewski) she got to know the full bitterness of life. Separated after a few years from her husband, who squandered the small estate, then emigrated to America and failed there, she struggled through life destitute with two children. "There isn't much I can write," she says when almost fifty years old in the sketch of her life which introduces the first volume of her works (Vilna, 1914), "my whole life was the sorrowful wandering about of a blind person: without goal, without purpose, empty and tragic, from beginning to end . . .If life were a book, I would tear out all the pages, burn them, and scatter the ashes in the wind, so that no memory and no trace would remain . . . It is difficult for me to look back on this foolish past, for there are relics which I would like to take with me to the

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grave; there are sins of which I am ashamed--there are tragicomic things, which self-respect forbids to mention.

Liudas Gira, to whom we owe a moving presentation of the life of the two sisters, writes concerning Sofia:

> "The days of her life were, without exaggerating in the least, nothing but distress and misery, and her creativity was a tiny Golgotha with the daily crucifixion of a tortured soul. . .constantly worried, always forced anew to earn a bite of dry bread for the next day for herself and her family, without sleep, hungry, hardly able sometimes to stay on her feet from continual exertion and permanent sickliness, she was knitting, sewing, embroidering, cutting paper flowers, from early in the morning until late at night, in the winter in an unheated room, in the night usually sitting by the flickering stump of a candle. And only when time allowed did she write, copy, and write again." (36)

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36. Liudas Gira, "Dvi seserys Ivanauskaitēs" (Two Sisters Ivanauskaitē), Židinys, 1929, No. 4, p. 313. On the life of Sofia cf. further the essay by J. Ambrazevičius, Sofijos Pšibilauskienēs biografijai (On the Life of S.P.), Židinys, 1936, Vol. XXIV, No. 12, and 1937, Vol. XXV, No. 2.

/246/ In the year 1896 Sofia became acquainted with a circle of young Lithuanian students grouped around the newspapers Varpas and Ukininkas. About 1900 began her literary activity for the Lithuanian press, where she soon made a name for herself. Her numerous tales--she did not leave behind a major work--are very rich in subject matter and embrace all the problems of her time. Life on the rundown estates of the minor nobility is pictured with great bitterness; especially from the description of the women and girls on these estates there speaks much of her own experience. In the center of her tales stands the Lithuanian village, this also painted in gray colors--the relations between landlords and peasants, the economic distress of the country proletariat, the lack of education in the countryside, in short the whole complex of social and economic problems of the village. In addition, Russian oppression and the revolution of the year 1905 comes alive in her longer story Klaida (The Mistake).

Her younger sister Maria (born 1873) began to write even earlier than Sofia. Even as a young girl she published poemsand short stories. A life full of difficulty and misery, at first in St. Petersburg, later in Vilna, interrupted her literary work for many years. Only after the repeal of the prohibition on printing did her external circumstances give her again the inner possibility for creating on her own, and now both sisters wrote under the same pseudonym. Maria was not concerned with her own literary fame; her only desire, like that of her sister in that period, was to help her old father, who lived in dire need on his little estate, with the money she earned. The works of the two sisters are so similar, since they had inherited the same talents, had passed through the same youth, and were fashioned by the same difficult fate, that nobody would have guessed that two writers could hide behind the pseudonym. To be sure, as Mykolaitis notes in his history of literature, Sofia is closer to the Lithuanian village, while Maria is closer /247/ to the life of the city and thus to a more psychological treatment of literary problems.

The literary judgment on Lazdynų Pelėda is not unanimous, but V. Bičiūnas writes in his obituary on Sofia in 1926: "One must admit that in that epoch Lazdynų Pelēda was one of the liveliest and most talented representatives of our literature." (37) Artistically strongest are the short uncomplicated tales such as Mother Calls, a children's story that was also translated into German. (38) As to style, a peculiar mixture of realism and lyricism stands out, which is frequently uneven like the portrayal itself. Unquestionably, particularly the longer stories, are nor uniformly constructed, and the characterization of the personalities is much weaker than the presentation of the plot. Undoubtedly, too, the whole interpretation of reality, veiled in the gray pessimism of an unhappy life, is without light, without nature, narrow, and partly disconsolate. But there is also probably no doubt that the artistic development of both sisters would have followed a different course under other circumstances.

The last of the prose writers to be named here, Maria Pečkauskaitē, known under the pseudonym of Šatrijos Ragana, leads us back from the depths of proletarian bitterness into the heights of ideals that are nourished by an optimistic view of life.

Maria Pečkauskaitē was born in 1878 in the district of Telšiai (in Samogitia), and spent her early youth on the estate of her parents. Aside from a brief attendance at the gymnasium in St. Petersburg, she was educated by private tutors

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37. V. Bičiūnas, "A. A. Sofija Pšybilauskienē-Lazdynų Pelēda," Židinys, 1926, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 148.

38. Printed in the Litauenbuch der X. Armee, pp. 164-171.

on account of her delicate health, and even in her youth she had a fluent command of the Russian, French, and German languages; Lithuanian (Samogitian), however, became the language in which she thought and wrote. Although the everyday language in the home of her parents was Polish, the young Lithuanian movement found here a growing echo from the year 1891 on and gripped the young girl with all /248/ its force. At 18 she wrote her first sketches for the newspaper Varpas, and at 22 she published her first longer tale Viktutē in the form of a diary. It is a largely biographical work. The young writer became here the apostle of the new ideas among the members of her class. Along with political and democratic thoughts, the religious element--she remained through her whole life a convinced Catholic--also played a role.*

Although the cares of everyday life did not spare Pečkauskaitē either, and although she was forced after the sale of her father's property to earn her bread as a private tutor in noble families, her external circumstances remained on the whole happy. Her unusual talent was recognized very early; in 1905 she, though a woman, received the foreign scholarship of a Lithuanian educational society. She followed her distinct pedagogical and literary gift and became a student of the pedagogue Fr. Förster in Zürich, whose principles she later spread in her own larger works and translations into Lithuanian (The Education of Youth, Sexual Ethics and Sex Instruction, Christ and Human Life, etc.). After her return to Lithuania, she passed the private teacher examination for secondary schools and obtained, in 1909, the directorship of the girls' progymnasium in Marijampolē, which was supported by the educational society Žiburys. The war interrupted this activity. She returned to her homeland Samogitia and developed after the war a great literary activity in the realm of pedagogy. In 1928 she was rewarded for her services to the educational system of the country by an honorary degree of doctor of philosophy degree from the Lithuanian University. She died on July 24, 1930. An almost complete collection of her belletristic writings exists in six volumes.

What distinguishes Maria Pečkauskaitē from the rest of the women prose writers of her time is first of all her high, finished education, which, in combination with her great intellectual gifts, /249/ provided her with an incomparably larger view of the realities of life. Her works are mostly written for the educated and are no village tales in the usual sense. They are dynamic insofar as they broaden the artistic area in which Lithuanian literature had moved until then, particularly toward intellectual reflection.

A further clear distinction lies in the fact that, in spite of every sympathy for the village, the writer never championed the ideology of the peasant, like those named before, but always remained a convinced aristocrat. Thus the contrasts between peasantry and nobility are not treated in her stories. Inwardly filled with the young-Lithuanian idea, she strove to bring about a spiritual change of attitude even in the Polonized members of her class. Her stories breathe the spirit and mood of the estates of the nobility, and as sharp and satirical as the presentation at times can be, it never degenerates into a lampoon. In content, those tales are of special interest in which she describes how the young-Lithuanian peasant movement of the "Litwomen" is reflected in the heads of the minor nobility (For the Fatherland, On the Old Estate). Out of pure idealism Pečkausnaitē fights for the education and improvement of the people, for charity and self-sacrifice and all the other human ideals. Upheld by a philosophy basically optimistic, in spite of all its melancholy elements, she sees everywhere the possibility to improve, to help, to educate. But although a large number of her prose writings serve a distinctly didactic purpose, this never becomes obtrusive. Thus in her most beautiful story, On the Old Estate, all the events are seen with the eyes of an eight year old child, and in another story, Irka's Tragedy, we experience the shock which a young human soul suffers through estrangement from its father and mother with such intensity as can only be imparted by genuine artistic talent. (39)

[113] 39. A detailed critical literary evaluation of this story is given by J. Ambrazevičius in his essay "Šatrijos Raganos 'Irkos tragedija'" (Šatrijos Ragana "Irka's Tragedy"), Židinys, 1931, Vol. XIII, No. 1, pp. 27-36.

The subtlety of her portrayal corresponds to a strong feeling for style. The language conforms to the presentation in every /250/ variation. It is economical, plastic, and expressive, and unaffected in its imagery. When Pečkauskaitē in her story Irka, for example, speaks of a "little bed white like a pansy," or says of the voice of the child: "It began to ring like a little silver bell," one must not forget what boldness of expression and at the same time what progress such poetic similes meant for the contemporary development of the Lithuanian literary language.

It is difficult to assign the stories of this writer to a specific literary trend. Unquestionably they are permeated with sentimental and romantic elements, and several poetic reveries can be described as purely romantic (Why Are You Not Here?, The Little Blue Maid). On the other hand the economy in the description of nature should be noted, which only occasionally introduce or underlie a tender lyric mood. It is precisely this note that stands out in the recollections of her childhood. (40)

40. Works, Vol. II, p. 5. Cf. on this Vairas, Vol. III, p. 486.

## On the Old Estate

Beyond the forests, beyond the streams, between river valleys and hills, stands the old wooden mansion. Not tall, but long and wide, with a large front on white pillars, full of secret little corners, warm and comfortable, faithful guardian of all our joys and sorrows. Behind it lies a large, sleepy, artificial pond with mysterious depths, gilded in the evening by the moon and stars; and--rocked into slumber by songs, full of fragrance and secret dreams--the garden.

Tenderly the garden presses the pond and the house to its wide breast--its intimate friends--and whispering tells them fairy tales without end, long, secret stories, and eternal songs. And both listen--quietly and thoughtfully.

A small peninsula lies in the garden, reaching out into the pond, covered with blossoming spiraea bushes, /251/ completely overgrown with flowers. On its shore grows a willow whose trunk was once cut down and which then shot out three new little trunks and has formed a sort of seat in which one can sit very comfortably, leaning back. I once discovered this little corner with my dear mother. Then she wrote my initials on one of the little trunks and said: "Now that is your seat, Irussja. And whenever you sit here you should think of me, and only good and beauriful thoughts can come into your head."

This spring I often sit in the willow seat, for I am working on a gift for mother's birthday. During the winter I learned how to embroider, and now I would like to give her the first results of my work. I bought the material from my own money, and now I am embroidering a little cover for her night table, leaning back in the seat so that mother does not see me. I thought of this particular gift after long deliberation. In the evening--I thought--when Mother, after reading, goes to put out the candle, her glance will fall on my cover and she will go to sleep thinking of me. And in the morning her first glance is at the clock on the table. And then she will again have to think of me.

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"Why do you say, dear mother, that when we come back to the nest we may not find you and father any more?" "The old birds are flying away to a place from which no one returns: Into the paradies of their fathers. So it is, children. Alas,-it can also be otherwise . . ."

Suddenly someone knocked strongly on the window of the next room.

My mother was startled; alarmed, we all sprang up and ran to see who was there. But /252/ beyond the window the night was dark, and no one was to be seen or heard.

"Who was there? Who was there?" asked mother uneasily. In her eyes I saw a painful alarm. "What sort of a sign was that? Did fate knock as in Beethoven's Symphony of Destiny?" And again mother sat down at the piano and began to play the beautiful symphony. But she did not know much from memory, and so she interrupted it and began an infinitely sad melody to which she sang in recitative;

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My dear mother sang so sadly, and a familiar feeling rose within me that everyone would die and I would then be completely alone. That was so terrible, and I said to my mother:

"Mother, let's get out of here and go where it's light." My mother closed the piano and we went into the dining-room, where the lamp burned cheerfully above the table, the samovar hummed amiably on a little table, and Nika and Jonelis, bent over a table, looked at pictures.

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And everything has vanished and flown away. . . You too have gone, my mother, flown away from the nest into paradise. But first the little birds flew off.

And the storm has torn apart the nest.

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## 3. Maironis and the Idealism in the Lyrics of His Time

The works of Maria Pečkauskaitē leads us back into that romantically colored, religious-political world of ideas awakened by the periodical Aušra (1883-86); these ideas later /253/ influenced wider and wider religiously oriented circles through Apžvalga (1890-96) and the periodical founded by the clergyman Tumas, Tēvynēs Sargas (1896-1904). The last paper, especially, acineved importance. In its columns, along with intelligent essays of Maria Pečkauskaitē written with great penetration, we find also other names which became known later; all of the clergy of the country, under the influence of the new movement, grouped themselves around this paper. In order to understand the spirit of that period, out of which came a new stimulus for the further development of Lithuanian writing, at least the basic thoughts

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77 should be indicated. There was a striving for a synthesis of Catholic and national philosophy, as we can clearly see in a programmatic passage in the periodical (No. 4 of the year 1896): "Out of ardent desire to protect our faith and to preserve our people, we shall strive to enlighten them; but we shall never sacrifice Catholicism for the good of the fatherland, but we want to be filled with patriotic feeling out of the love of God." There is a warning not to use force against those in power ("He who makes war with the sword falls by the sword," Maironis), rather the awakening of opposition against the Orthodox church and Russification should proceed with spiritual means. These means, however, are the same as in the Aušra epoch--the awakening of love for the hereditary homeland, a romantic glorification of the past corresponding, on the other side, to a pessimistic interpretation of the present, and the expectation of the grace of God who will someday free the people from the Russian yoke. That is the theme of the period.

*538 Now unquestionably thoughts like those indicated above, especially when they are fed by a strong emotional source, are profitable material above all for lyricism; thus it is not surprising that in this period and this world of ideas a poet arose who in Lithuania is considered the most important representative of lyricism up to the first World War, and who from the literary-historical point of view must in any case be regarded as the creator of modern Lithuanian artistic lyric poetry--/254/ the prelate Jonas Maculevičius Mačiulis, or as he called himself with his pen name--Maironis.

Born in 1862 the son of a free peasant in the district of Raseiniai, who was raised in contact with peasants as well as with the minor nobility of the vicinity, he entered the gymnasium in Kaunas and finished there in 1883. The Kaunas priesthood seminary which he attended from 1884 on was permeated with a Polish atmosphere. Under the influence of the romantics and of historical works on the early history of Lithuania, there was awakened in him the feeling of intimate union with his homeland, to which his first poems written in Lithuanian bear witness. After completing the seminary and the Clerical Academy in St. Petersburg, Maironis became professor at the Kaunas seminary. From 1894 to 1909 we find him as professor of moral theology at the St. Petersburg Clerical Academy. These 15 years were decisive for his artistic development. Amont other things he published here as early as 1895 a collection of poetry, Voices of Spring, which made him known in wide circles and continually appeared in new editions. Also satire is congenial to his sharp and critical spirit. Later on he took over the directorship of the Kaunas seminary. After the founding of the Lithuanian University, the theological faculty summoned him as professor of moral theology and Lithuanian literature. He died, mourned by the whole people, on June 28, 1932. Among his scholarly writings can be named his Praelectiones de justitia et jure, which appeared in 1903, as well as several works in the realm of moral theology.

The great influence which proceeded from the poems of Maironis rested first of all on the fact that his time was the time of the national awakening of his nation. The soil for the acceptance of his lyric poetry was thereby prepared. Maironis can actually be regarded as the artistic awakener of the national consciousness in Lithuania. He became the singer of his country, the messenger of national unity, of love for the fatherland. With this love, however, he /255/ always preserved his spiritual ideology. When only a youth he sang (1885):

The time will come when the Almighty
Will raise for us the angry sword
And the farthest lands will hear again
The name of Lithuania today forgotten.

* 538 He remained true to this high style, this pathos characteristic of himself, his whole life long. His importance as a poet lies in the fact that he did not exhaust these ideas in pale allegories but expressed them in plastic form and with a strong inner passion. Thus his poems also very quickly found their way to the people. After the Russian revolution of 1905, when the oppression of the spiritual life of the border peoples was somewhat eased, the most popular songs of the poet were sung at all assemblies and gatherings in Lithuania and were later taken over in part into the school books. In general it can immediately be recognized in most of his poems that they are intended for singing or solemn declamation:

> Where the Scheschupe, the Nemunas roar
> Lies our Lithuanian fatherland,
> Where the plowmen listen to the speech of their homeland,
> Where the Song of Birute rings across the land.
> May our rivers flow into the deepest seas!
> May our songs ring through the farthest lands!
>
> Where the winds redden and the rue is green,
> Where sisters braid their hair to look neat,
> Where the cuckoo makes his lament in the garden--
> Our home--the wanderer, he finds it here.
> Where the gray cuckoo is, the winds, the rue,
> There is fatherland and home, and trusted mother-love.
>
> Whether the sun shines, whether the earth is dark,
> You remain the dearest land of our fathers,
> Here we have watered the earth with our sweat,

/256/Here it is where the heart has found memories.
Always you remain our love, whether in happiness,
whether in grief,
Glorious in memories, dear to our heart!

Idealization of the homeland and its early history, love for the language--these motifs recur in all the songs which inspired the young generation in its cultural battle against the Russian oppression. Almost without exception they are sustained by a romantic mood in which at times the past emerges in relief before the eyes of the hearer:

Look at Vilna there, with splendid palaces,
How broad it rests between the mountains!
Night veils it with the darkest, best
Robes, like smoke! . . .it sleeps well!
Where is the fame with which you once rang?
The power of the forefathers, the honorable ones?

And further:

Still the morning cannot paint itself red with sun,
Still the night that was, sleeps all around,
Only timidly, isolated, shine forth the rays
Of the moon, which emerges from among the many clouds.
So I would like to see the castle, the dear one,
Where in silence, sleeping, stand still the centuries
When Vilna was still to us as our eye,

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When it clearly shone
For Lithuania, our fatherland.

Why so sad? Why do the tears
Glide bitterly onto your breast?
Do you regret the passing of noble times?
Do you perceive a better future? Speak!
But look, in the east the dawn is al-
ready breaking!

For the poet it is the symbol that new, better times will begin for his people, too. /Unnumbered page with illustration--Benedictine Church in Kaunas/

/257/ Compared to poems of a national character and those in which he takes a stand on problems of the time, the poems of purely personal feeling are strongly subordinate. One of the reasons for this is obviously the high clerical dignity which the poet assumed in public, the priestly ideal to which he remained inwardly faithful, and which let him interpret even his own inner life only in the mirror of this ethical and religious basic attitude. Occasional conflicts which resulted from this led to resignation, as is expressed in the prayer to his guardian angel:

I do not expect much from life, you
understand me so easily,
What tortures me lies open before you;
I have suffered so much that the Almighty
perhaps
Forgives me, when I have made a mistake.

But such purely personal tones are rare, and thus Maironis remains basically more the objective poet who does not seek the object of his observation within himself, but outside--in the world. But in the purely lyrical poems which have become objectivized in this way there vibrate many of the elements of the folk song. Poems of a narrative and balladesque content do not occupy much space in the framework of his whole work.

In spite of his basic romantic attitude, Maironis is considered in Lithuania as a representative of classic poetry, the result primarily of his great mastery of form. He postulated greatest strictness of form, and his poems are distinguished by absolute purity of rime. Thus is was first through his example that Lithuanian lyricism gained the strict formalization that dominated a whole generation after Maironis. With regard to form, the songs of the poet are beyond anything in the nature of folk song. The language of Maironis is simple, his vocabulary unaffected, and understandable to everyone, the form concise and clear. With regard to meter, his poems are treated in various ways. (41)/258/ The rhythmic melody of his verses is never accidental, but is always related to the content.

Not of the same importance as the lyrics are the epic works of the poet, although--as the first real artistic poems--they also exerted a strong influence on their time. They, too, are carried along by the same patriotic wave, and are frequently purely lyric. In his epic Jaunoji Lietuva (Young Lithuania), published in 1895 under the title Through Pain to Honor, Maironis gives a

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41. Horst Engert, "Metrische Studien zu Gedichten von Maironis," Darbai ir dienos Vol. IV (Kaunas, 1936). Engerg investigates primarily the significance of the so-called "secondary stresses" of Maironis' lyrics, and establishes furthermore that the structure of the verses in these poems is built upon the purely balancing /wägende/ (in contrast to the scanning /messende/) principle.

*538 picture of awakening Lithuania; in the epic Mūsų vargai (Our Sufferings) he gives, so to speak, a continuation, in which he portrays the cultural movement in Lithuania from the revolutionary year of 1905 to the achievement of independence. In addition, his satirical poem Magda from Raseiniai and the opera libretto Where Does Salvation Lie?, printed in 1896, should be quoted. In the center of all these poems is a problem which we have already met earlier--the question of the national estrangement of the Lithuanian nobility, for which the poet entertains genuine sympathies, and which he wishes to lead back to its people.

After the founding of the state, many of the faults which are connected with such a period of transition do not escape Maironis. Thus originates in these years a series of sometimes very bitter satires, in which the temper of the poet is unloosed.

From his last creative period stem also the dramatic poems--the great Vytautas trilogy (written 1922-29). It is an idealized presentation of the medieval heroic period. Thus Maironis remained to the end of his life faithful to the task which he set himself as his calling as a young student in the seminary of Kaunas. For a generation he stood at the head of a large group of admirers and imitators; and if much that he wrote has already fallen victim to time, the sound of his songs still reverberates among the people today as on the first day. (42)

113 42. The literature on Maironis is very considerable. Apart from the extensive histories of literature, his work is treated above all in the following articles and essays: J. Tumas, "Jonas Maironis-Mačiulis" (Lectures on Lithuanian Literature), Complete Works, Vols. IV and

113 XIX. Ambrazevičius, "Maironis lyrikos sociologija" (Sociology of Maironis' Lyrics), Židinys, 1932, No. 8/9. Also Ambrazevičius, "Marionio vieta lietuvių religinej literatūroje" (The Place of Maironis in Lithuanian Religious Literature), Židinys, 1933, No. 4. V. Mykolaitis, "Visuomenēs Maironio kūrybos pagrindas" (The Social Basis of the Writings of Maironis), Kultūra, 1932, No. 8/9. In the German language there appeared a brief essay on Maironis in the Zeitung der X. Armee, No. 276, 1917. Cf. further Horst Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung, Deutsche Nachdichtungen (Kaunas, 1935); 2nd ed. (1938).

## /259/ Chapter Six

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## A Cross Section of the Most Recent Developments in Lithuanian Literature

### A. The Period of Transition. The New Lyricism.

It is only natural that the repeal of the prohibition on printing in 1904 also led to an increase in worthless literature on the Lithuanian book market. With sharpness and great vigor the poetess Čiurlionienē-Kymantaitē turned against this shallowness in her article "Lietuvoje" (In Lithuania) in 1910, and demanded that the connection with folk art remain preserved everywhere in literature:

> "What do our songs mean to us? Their meaning is this: that a great period of our artistic life is encompassed there. There the soul of the people finds expression, there is the first pure beginning of Lithuanian poetry. We have nothing in this regard that would be

more perfect, and we must seek guidance there as to which paths the new poetry should follow . . .In poetry we must return first of all to those magnificent dainos, take over the perfection of their forms, and understand that poetry must flow from the heart of the people." (p. 33)

In opposition to the imitation of classic style and form of the Maironis stamp--in his effect on the lyric style /260/ of his period, Maironis could perhaps be compared with Heine--there arose a new movement, consciously represented by J. Herbačauskas in his essays which appeared in 1908. Erškečių vainikas (The Crown of Thorns), (1) in

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which he turns against the "popular stereotype, the mannerism and literary beaurocracy" born of slavish imitation, which makes impossible the expression of individual ideas and feelings (p. 45). "It is not form that produces ideas and feelings, but ideas and feelings that produce form." Thus in this period we see everywhere the longing for expansion, for liberation from the traditional, for enrichment of style and form; and for the first time purely artistic considerations become predominant. The laws set up by Maironis concerning regularity of verse structure, lightness, and musicality were already taken for granted by this generation; and one thing should not be

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1. Cf. on this point the essay by Mykolaitis-Putinas, "Naujosios lietuvių literatūros angoje" (On the Threshold of the Most Recent Lithuanian Literature), in his book Literatūros etiudai (Studies in Literature) (1937), pp. 86-104. Further, Korsakas Radzvilas, Straipsniai apie literatūrą (Essays on Literature) (Kaunas, 1932); and by the same author, Kritika (Kaunas, 1936).

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538 forgotten--what appeared in Maironis as the natural form of expression of an inborn talent became rigid among his successors and epigones and frequently degenerated into dead form.

Nevertheless--especially as long as Maironis still lived and created--the so-called "classic" trend prevailed up to the first World War, especially since it obtained a champion of high spiritual rank in the person of the prelate A. Dambrauskas, born in 1860, who wrote under the pen name Jakštas (died February 19, 1938). He exerted a decisive influence on the young Lithuanian literature, and was considered for a generation to be the aesthetic conscience of his time. In his own, somewhat cool, lyricism, too, he proved himself an adherent to a strict classicism. Thus the dynamic trend we mentioned--for which, perhaps the time was not ripe--did at first not yet gain acceptance. Only the younger generation of the postwar period passed beyond the rules set up by classicism. The striving after characteristic and genuine artistic expression and the resulting search for just those elements and /261/ forms of expression that seemed characteristic of their own people, distinguishing it from others, could already be noted in the development of modern painting. In poetry it led to the realization of the requirement set up by Čiurlionienē, insofar as the influence of folk poetry was clearly reflected from now on in the further development of Lithuanian lyricism as well as prose. It is a period of the liveliest development and of fruitful analysis.

With the end of the first World War and the founding of the state there emerges an abundance of new names, among them some really creative talents, and it appears completely impossible to characterize even the most important of them in a brief final survey. In order to give at least a certain impression, the following may be remembered: we have seen that the Lithuanian literature of the nineteenth century was fed from two different currents, a positive-realistic one, of which the creations of Kudirka and Žemaitė, for example, are characteristic; and a romantic-idealistic current which grew out of the ideas of Aušra and Tevynes- Sargas, and which was modeled above all on the lyrics of Maironis. We can now define in broad outlines how the development proceeded on this basis, which had been established by 1905. In both cases it went from outward inward: the realistic presentation of the Lithuanian village gains psychological depth, as for example in the excellent peasant stories of Kreve-Mickevičius; the same is true of lyric poetry. It abandons its objectivity and follows the road of a new subjective development toward an inner comprehension of reality in place of the presentation of outward images. The feeling for nature changes into subtle experience:

We look--the apple blossoms
Fall in silence--
Like white butterflies--
We look--they fall in silence.

/262/ Did not the snow
Fall only recently in flakes?--
We look--the apple blossoms
Fall in silence.

(From Binkis: Verses)

In addition should be named the unusually productive lyricist Liudas Gira (born 1886), whose poems borrow consciously from the folk song, the daina. As to content, Gira simultaneously takes over the patriotic substance of Maironis' poems, with modifications corresponding to changing times. Lighter in form, richer in subject matter, Gira's lyrics probably signify the

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end of a specific development.

Balys Sruoga and Faustas Kirša, two symbolists with a strong mystical strain, go their own ways.

Balys Sruoga (born 1896) consciously throws aside the strict forms of the former Lithuanian lyricism. The rime disappears or becomes completely subordinate and is merely an occasional attribute. He introduces a dissolution into free rhythms which rush across the lines, and the content also betrays an unusual artistic temperament and intensity of experience. In an essay on the Lithuanian poetry of the period, in the Lettish monthly Sejejs (March, 1938), A. Vaičiulaitis compares Sruoga's poetry with an overflowing stream that destroys its banks. Recollections of Walt Whitman and Arno Holz, above all, force themselves upon the reader of the rimeless poems which depend entirely on rhythm and music:

Such a great, great holiday.
So red is the sky.
So many fires wander on the waves--
And far-off time gave the gliding sails
corals for decoration. . .
The moon plucks hidden at the greenish
pile of clouds.
/263/ It is as if nothing any longer
shakes my heart!
It is as if there were no more slavery
anywhere.
For centuries I went astray, like a
pillar I stop
And think.

The sun sinks sadly, so sadly--
Still more sadly than at home!
And sometimes it seems that all my sadness
Is the unearthly echo of unearthly deeds, . .
And the deepest secret is audible only
To the sorrowing heart
Alone. (From Sun and Sand)

We see that this freedom of form has basically nothing futuristic in it, for these poems are a peculiar mixture of spontaneous experience and reflection, and their meaning grows out of the symbol. Not without reason so we owe this poet that excellent introduction into the symbolic content of the Lithuanian dainos, which was referred to at various times (Chapter Two). Along with verses that are elementary and apparently break all bonds, there are others full of quiet melody, from which speak restrained feeling, indeed inner cheerfulness and happiness. In the verse dramas of his last period Sruoga returned completely to classic forms. Among his simpler poems many have become folk songs, like the following which is often sung:

My soul is celebrating today,
Play, sisters, a more joyful sound!
Away, you torturing thoughts!
Still more winged flies my song!

The taut strings of my kanklys,
Hardly did I touch them softly--
An army of swans arises,
Flutters away mysteriously.

/264/ My soul is celebrating today--
Quiet rest--the night flees away;
Paths that were walked in grief
Glow from the summer's song.

Look, oh sisters, up to heaven!
See how the mignonettes bloom--
Roaring resounds here our youth,
Our life strong and bold.

(From On the Paths of the Gods)

The lyric images of Faustas Kirša (born 1891) grow out of inner vision and contemplative

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538 observation. His lyrics often have a fragmentary character and for that reason are at times difficult to understand, less so in his first books than in the later ones. While great lightness and symmetrical beauty speaks from the poems of his early period (Aidų Aidužiai-Echo of the Echoes), in his last poems (Maldos and akmens-Prayers on the Stone) ascetic moods are reflected, full of heavy thoughts struggling for expression. Among the best verses of Kirša probably belong those in which ideas are cast in allegorical images taken from nature and thereby gain in color and brilliance:

As in space the crane with rushing winds,

I strayed on the green field:
My heart overflowed with sweet feelings,
covered with blossoms of love.

Nameless I strayed, engrossed in my gazing,
In the sultriness of midday so far,
I do not know the God whose fires forged me
For the road full of blossoms and sorrow.

I greet the straying winds on earth,
I discover who is borne by error.
Only death from the earth, as ripened by dreams,
Will end the flight of the wanderer.
(From Hymns (Giesmēs))

/265/ Many other poets search for their own forms for the expression of artistic experience; for example, Stasys Santvaras, the earliest of the younger symbolists, and Stasys Anglickis, in whose lyrics a stronger, subjectively colored intellectualism stands out. Social problems are reflected in the poems of Kazys Boruta, and Teofilis Tilvytis is known for his satires.

The last epoch, which begins with the founding of the state (2) was particularly fruitful for the development of the Lithuanian lyric.

The character of the lyrics of this postwar generation can be quite generally characterized as gloomy and pessimistic. Life is felt as a burden, its problems are broodingly examined. In content and thought many connections with the prewar period are broken. There is a definite influence of Western trends; not only symbolism, but futurism and expressionism also find expression. Characteristic of these new trends is the organization of two groups--the futurists of the "Four Winds" (Keturi vėjai), fed by Italian and Russian sources, and a group of activists who in their own organ "The Third Front" (Trečias Frontas) represented an international Marxist ideology. Both groups have ceased to exist today; only a few numbers of their periodicals have been published.

In the field of poetry written by woman in that period Salomėja Neris made a name for herself. Her lyrics show clear reminiscences of Marie Madelaine and Dolorosa:

> So short and warm was your kiss,
> Like lightning and full of passion like
> the night.
> Oh power of seduction!--the saints fall. . .
> Your kiss--a spark that kindles flames!
>
> I cannot forget the glow of your lips,
> They burned their mark into my soul!

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2. Faustas Kirša, "Trys rašytojų kartos mūsų dailioje literatūroje" (Three generations of Writers in our Belletristic Literature/, Vairas, 1929, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 152-159.

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They have intoxicated me in senseless
ecstacy--
A slave, who dreams of you day and night.

/266/ No snake bit me--warm lips that
kissed. . .
Cold contracts the limbs in a shudder--
I cannot forget. . .all your fires,
They burn together in the same flames!
(From Tracks in the Sand)

Thus the development proceeds at an often practically impetuous speed, and it might almost seem to an outsider as if the young Lithuanian literature wanted now in a few decades to make up for the Western forms of style and expression of a whole century, from classicism through romanticism, naturalism, symbolism, and expressionism, up to the new functionalism. Here, however, the fact does not escape the sociologist that also this stormy literary development represents only the reflection of a deeper transformation which the intellectual upper class has undergone after the first World War, and which we have already pointed out in the chapter on the literary language. Thereby, our literary observations gain a significance beyond the artistic one. Of particular interest in this connection is the world of ideas of Antanas Miškinis. In his lyrics many patriotic motifs are sounded, along with a strong social consciousness. The Lithuanian village and the intellectual efforts and successes of the present appear in a bright light--in contrast to them the poet experiences strongly the dark sides and abuses of the new urban culture. His love belongs to the village, and it is indicative that his lyrics show a preference for the style of the daina, the folk song, though in a thoroughly intensified and subjective form.

Among the further younger poets of the

present--a listing of all their names would have no real meaning--two more may be named in conclusion--Kossu-Aleksandravičius is the honest struggle for the formation of ideas. He feels /267/ deeply how the unspoken which lives in the poet and struggles for expression is oddly devalued when fitted into words. And thus he, too, experiences what Maurice Maeterlinck expresses in his Treasure of the Poor in the chapter on Novalis: "Everything that one can say is in itself nothing."

To no one have I said it and never,
To no one can I say this:
A blossom already nipped in the bud,
The word dies on its way into the world.

(From The Lifeless Eyes of the Chimera)

The inner struggle for expression leads to unusual strictness of form, to an artistic chiseling out that stand in strong contrast to the free treatment of form by Sruoga, for example. With regard to form it should be noted here, however, that strictness of rime is not meant here, for Kossu-Aleksandravičius, like most of the younger Lithuanian poets, prefers end assonance to rime. Since, as also Horst Engert notes correctly in his already mentioned translations From Lithuanian Poetry, these assonances have an intolerable effect in German (p. 110), and since, moreover, they sometimes also appear mixed with genuine rimes, a translation or imitation of modern Lithuanian lyrics encounters unusual difficulties. The use of impure rime in place of the end assonances, which comes to mind first, is certainly not an ideal solution for a language in whose modern lyrics impure rime no longer appears. Thus the above mentioned strictness of form in

*538 Kossu-Aleksandravičius is to be understood in a different sense, resulting from the development of Lithuanian lyricism, as inner necessity of expression, as transparency, restraint, clarity, and strictness of the word.

The land of this poet is the land of the faraway, of miracles, of beauty, of still nights, of the sky and the /268/ stars--a land of longing that remains unattainable to man. Thus most of these verses breathe sadness and longing:

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The evening left with a veiled face--
And we remained--the night, the longing,
and I.

Also in the last of the poets to be named here, Bernardas Brazdžionis, we find complicated moods in a mystical-symbolic form. Subtle to the highest degree, he masters the fluctuations of language, which he strips of the commonplace. His philosophy is distinctly religious. From his beautiful book which appeared in 1937, Ženklai ir stebuklai (Sings and Wonders) one poem may be reproduced here, in which the artist recognizes the imitation of Christ to be the path out of all the darkness of life:

The fire went out. The ashes
Gradually died out in darkness,
Now the last word of the wanderer, as he
died,
Strays through eternity.

The sun will stand in clouds,
You will not see its light--
Like clouds, like clouds
Will be our future, too.

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We leave, we return,
The old paths are strange to us, veiled,
Into the future the road, to the past
the road.
And our happiness is hidden by a painful picture,
the picture of our Saviour's cross.

The fire went out. The ashes
Gradually died out in darkness.
But the holy word of happiness guides us,
and it will,
Guide us into eternity.

/269/ B. Prose and Drama

If we first briefly look at the prose written up to the first World War, we must remember that--as had to be expected under the circumstances--it grew out of the literary section of the newspapers and out of almanac literature. This prose consisted of smaller and larger novelettes, stories, and tales. But then the Lithuanian novel was produced, the artistic novel along with the light novel, and Lithuanian prose thereby conquered a large new area. It has not yet attained a tradition of its own; even with the more gifted of the younger generation the handling of the material is still often clumsy, the style uneven and, even in works of literary value, wavering between sober reporting and passionate lyricism. Often the endeavor at psychological penetration spends itself in mere descriptions of mental conditions. But the development is striding forward with great rapidity; and if Lithuanian literature up to now still exhibits no great work that could be set beside the works of a Lagerlöf, Hermann, Sterh, Hamsun, and others, still we do have individual works whose translation into a world language promises their authors recognition such as has already been awarded, for example, to the works of Finnish and Esthonian poets.

The first of these writers is Dobilas-Lindē (1872-1934), from whom Lithuanian novel writing takes its departure, and who, at the same time, founded it on psychology. A clergyman of high culture and extensive education, Dobilas-Lindē simultaneously made a name for himself as a critic by preparing the way in Lithuania for the understanding of the art of Benedetto Croce and H. Taine. His novel Blūdas (Madness), based on the revolution of 1905, is of interest psychologically, politically, and also philosophically.

/270/ Also on the threshold of two generations stands Tumas-Vaižgantas (1869-1933), his first writings still rooted in the period of Aušra and Tēvynēs Sargas, which he founded and directed himself. One of the most popular personalities in Lithuania, clergyman, literary historian, critic, journalist, and novelist, but above all politician--not in the party sense--Vaižgantas enriched Lithuanian literature with an enormous quantity of publications. Unusually well read, educated on long trips to Russia, Sweden, Italy, and America, Vaižgantas had such a strong personality that he assimilated all these impressions within himself without losing his typically Lithuanian basic attitude; his human, artistic, and philosophical formation had been shaped in his homeland. Thus Kuzmickis can say of Tumas-Vaižgantas in his history of literature: "Vaižgantas is undoubtedly of importance in the history of Lithuanian literature. He enriched Lithuanian literature with characteristic Lithuanian creations of great value; he placed Lithuanian literature in a sphere of livelier and more creative work and made idealism his watchword." (3)

3. Zigmantas Kuzmickis, Lietuviu literatūra (Lithuanian Literature), Vol. V (Kaunas, 1934), p. 131.

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Although a personality like Canon Tumas-Vaižgantas cannot be fully understood except in its entirety, only the literary aspect of his creativity will be treated in this context. His belletristic writings stand under the influence of both Russian realism (Turgenev, Tolstoy) and of Polish romanticism (Mickiewicz, Kraszewski). Both trends are intertwined in his works. If we take his most important book, Pagiedruliai (Rays of Light), we see that the source from which he creates is his home village, his parents, the people close to him, and above all the nature of the Lithuanian countryside. And when the poet writes at the end of a legend: "it is pleasant and homely in Lithuania not only because it is so full of variety--but also because the land is interesting and enveloped in mystery. Its nature is a single, complete and perfect /271/ testimony to antiquity: you must learn to read it" (4) --this attitude towards nature dominates also the people of his stories, who form an inseparable unity with nature. (5)

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The subject matter of the belletristic writings of Vaižgantas is very extensive. It almost gives us a chronicle of the development of the country in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Lithuanian village appears in his books in an ideal light, and in one place Vaižgantas characterizes his position himself with the words:

"Our folk art is tender, idyllic; it loves neither what is gruesome nor what is nakedly realistic. To portray poverty would not be fitting

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4. Writings, Vol. IX, p. 113.

5. Cf. here the introduction by Mykolaitis-Putinas to Vol. X of the Writings (Kaunas, 1929), p. 17.

for it and not Lithuanian. And after all why should one portray all kinds of errors and misery when we have so much honesty, love, piety, mysticism, and compassion--so much shining beauty in songs and fairy tales, in fabrics and carvings--so much of the idyllic in nature and life." (6)

From this basic attitude, which rests on an indestructible optimism, all the works of Vaižgantas are to be understood; honesty, work, order, progress--these themes return again and again in his tales. What is most characteristic and perhaps also of the greatest literary value in them, however, is the typically Lithuanian mood with which they are filled, and which Vaižgantas achieves even in the presentation of his characters. Among the best of his stories belongs the title story of his book Dēdēs ir dēdienēs (Uncles and Aunts),(7) in which the character of the aging bachelor Mykoliukas, the dreamer, whose real world lies on another planet, is convincingly presented. Unfortunately Vaižgantas did not leave behind any other integrated work. Even his Pagiedruliai (Rays of Light), the first part of which plays in Samogitia and the second in High Lithuania, does not contain any unified story, but consists of portraits loosely strung together and interwoven with lyric moods; /272/ the latter are often of great beauty, like the introductory description of winter, for example. Kuzmickis characterizes the artistic personality of the writer in the following words:

> "Life seemed to Vaižgantas like a cinematographic film in which one can see whole series of pictures. In such series, fragments

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6. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

7. Writings, Vol. X.

+538 of pictures, Vaižgantas writes his literary creations. He hurries with his presentation, jumps rapidly from one thing and is already interested in another. This fragmentary manner also becomes evident in Vaižgantas' style; he is uneven, sudden--here lyrically tender, there philosophically serious, in other places again journalistically instructive. In general his style is full of lively beauty and has an attractive effect in its naturalness and unaffectedness." (8)

8. Kuzmickis, loc. cit., Vol. V, p. 112.

Vaižgantas is also unquestionably important for the further development of the Lithuanian literary language.

Still another poet of the older generation must be discussed in this context, V. St. Vydūnas, born in 1868. Vydūnas is first of all a philosopher and mystic. He absorbed the theosophy of India, and also fashioned his own life according to deeply religious principles; in his numerous lectures he became the preacher of an ethical world view. The essence of his poetic works is allegorical, mystical and romantic. He stands alone in the development of Lithuanian literature, without predecessors and without successors, for he remains always the messenger and admonisher, even where he makes use of poetry as a means. When we survey the content of his long series of theatrical plays, we see that--with the possible exception of a few small comedies--they aim at the deepening of the Lithuanian man. Seen through this medium of inner observation, even the national idea, where it /Unnumbered page with illustration--Monastery Church of Pažaislis/ /273/ emerges in his poems, undergoes a peculiar transfiguration, which may be characterized in his own words, taken from his prose work Mūsų uždavinys (Our Task) published in 1910:

*538 "Above all it is necessary that each person in his soul cultivate true humanity, clarify his consciousness, deepen his feelings, purify his inclinations, strengthen his morality, hold in honor and nourish love and reason, and awaken his conscience." For "a people can only survive when it has spiritual and moral life which it cherishes and strengthens, even though only one single person did this." Among the dramas in which the idea of such a deepening stands out most clearly, we should mention first the dramatic trilogy Amžina ugnis (Eternal Fire), which appeared in 1913, an apotheosis of ancient Lithuanian religion, mystically introduced and concluded by the morning and evening songs of the flames; as well as the trilogy Probočių šešēliai (Shades of the Ancestors), written earlier but not printed until 1908. Here he pictures various phases of Lithuanian history, but the totality of the external events presented here becomes in the end a symbol, as in nearly all of his works.

Of his dramas it can be said quite in general that they do not correspond to what is understood by "dramas"; that is, they contain no conflicts and intrigues and thus also no solutions in the usual sense. They are poems in dialogue form, written sometimes in verse, sometimes in animated prose, filled with enthusiasm and optimism. Even their titles are characteristic: Jūrų varpai (Bells of the Seas), a mystery in three acts, 1920; Žvaigždžių takai (Paths of the Stars), a fairy tale drama, 1920; Likimo Bangos (Waves of Destiny), 1922; and others. Vydūnas gained influence on the aesthetic and ethical development of Lithuanian artistic life and above all on one section of the youth through his poetic, and perhaps even more through his philosophical and contemplative works and essays. (9)

113 9. Among the philosophical-theosophical works of Vydūnas may be named: Mirtis ir

113 kas toliau? (Death and What Then?)--Slēpiningoji žmogaus didybē (The Mysterious Majesty of Man)--Žmonijos kelias (The Way of Humanity) and others. His book Litauen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, which appeared in 1916, became known in Germany. The two publications Deutsch-litauischer Wortschatz, 1916, and Führer zur Erlernung der Anfangsgründe der litauischen Sprache, 1924, promote the teaching of the Lithuanian language. In these little manuals Vydūnas employs his own spelling system, which differs from that officially prescribed.

538* /274/ If Vydūnas occupies a unique position in Lithuanian literature both as a personality and as a poet, two further prose writers, who also belong to the prewar generation, lead us back into the realism of the present. Jonas Biliūnas (1879-1907) is the author of numerous tersely written short novelettes and tales. Born into a period astir with revolution, inwardly upheld by a strong social feeling, he was already the leader of a socialist student group at the gymnasium in Libau. Later he was even expelled by the University of Dorpat because of participation in student disturbances, and then took an active part in the socialist movement in Lithuania. An inner transformation was brought about by a visit for study in Leipzig in 1903, his marriage in the following year, and his move to Zürich. Here he studied literature and the history of art, renounced politics completely, and dedicated himself entirely to literary activity. The last two years were the most fruitful for him. In 1907, like many other Lithuanian writers a victim of misery and privation, he died of consumption.

The artistic development of Biliūnas progresses from the pure socialism and materialism of his youth ever more strongly to an idealistic in-

538 terpretation of life, from external presentation to psychological depth. His last works are veiled in resignation. His short stories are written in a concentrated style, which is graphic and effective. Their subject matter is formed by the fate of those who are disinherited and rejected by life, presented by the author in all their somber reality. One of his best tales, "Liūdna pasaka" (Sad News), deals with the revolution of 1863.

Vienuolis-Žukauskas (born 1882) belongs today among the best known writers of the country. He treats principally problems of the present, so that the progress of the intellectual and political /275/ development after the repeal of the prohibition on printing can be clearly followed in his works. Realistic and often satirical in his presentations, he combines a vision gained through wide travelling with a great gift of observation, and for that reason he also became a leader in the field of artistic journalism. Typical of his writing is the individual characterization and psychological depth of the personalities represented. Especially well known among his works are the Kaukazo legendos (Legends from the Caucasus), the novelettes Paskenduolē (The Drowned Woman) and Inteligentų palata, as well as his novel Viešnia iš šiaurēs (The Stranger from the North). Dr. G. Wirschubski actually calls him the "Lithuanian Chekhov," (10) but A. Vaičiulaitis correctly stresses that Chekhov was a foe of any kind of description of nature, (11) which plays an important role in Vienulois writing. Unquestionably, however, a dev-

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[113] 10. Dr. G. Wirschubski, "Die Entwicklung der litauischen Literatur," in the periodical Osteuropa, June, 1929.

[113] 11. A. Vaičiulaitis, Natūralizmas ir lietuvių literatūra (Kaunas, 1936), p. 88.

1538 elopment can be traced in [illegible]enuolis' work that led him from the sentimentalism of his youth through realism to an originally merciless naturalism such as characterizes the novel Prieš dieną (Before Day). With a cool, objective method of observation the author introduces us here to a number of people who move only on the lowest plane of selfishness, sensuality, and instinct. From the works of the last years speaks again a more positive interpretation of life, a conscious emphasis on the national, but without pathos, and at the same time the desire for a historical knowledge of the past. In 1932 appeared the novel Kryžkelyj (At the Crossroads), a historical tale from the time of the Grand Duke Vytautas. In view of the artistic talent of this writer, the further development of his work must be followed with interest.

Independent and self-willed in interpretation and presentation is Jurgis Savickis, born in 1891, whose two volumes of novelettes, Šventadienio sonetai (Holiday Sonnets) and Ties aukštu sostu (Before the High Throne) disclose a highly cultivated literary mind. With sharp eyes he catches life, represents it in unusual / images by /276/ means of a concise style, and thus often attains special effects. Characteristic of his style is, for example, the following brief description:

> A chilly late afternoon. Behind the spruce forest the red cloth of evening let down from the sky. It is so cold. Shivering and uncomfortable. The wind makes this red cloth flutter--a rag, hung up and entangled in the two branches of a dry birch. Once lightning struck here. It is as though murderers had once been hanged on them, laden with heavy guilt, and the trees did not endure it and dried out. (12)

12. Kuzmickis, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 260.

The subject matter of the new literature

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538 underwent a complete change compared to the prewar period: the political idea, the political ends (political enlightenment, educational questions) take their place within a wider area of life. Thereby the poetic work springs more and more from inner artistic compulsion and, just as in lyrics, achieves subjective depth. To be sure, along with the problems of the present a role is also played here by the dynamic forces which for almost a century carried the history of the people forward and led, through the revolutions of 1863 and 1905, to the first World War and the founding of the state. Characteristic are, for example, the three volumes of Marcinkevičius Mes ateinam (We Are Coming) and Benjaminas Kordušas, as well as the novel in two volumes of Vaidilutēs Tēviškē (Home), which deals with the Lithuanian village during the years from 1905 to the postwar period. A historical tale by Šalčiuvienē, Juozukas, has as its setting the stirring revolutionary times of the last century. A large panorama of cultural history, noteworthy in its language and characterizations, is given by Simonaitytē in her novel Aukštujų Šimonių likimas (The Fate of the Šimoniai from Aukštujai), which received the state prize for 1935. The life and times of the poet and clergyman Strazdas are reflected in the dramatic chronicle Prieš /277/ srovę (Against the Stream) by J. Petrulis. The realm of the purely historical novel and the historical narrative is fostered by K. Puida, who also became known through poetic and dramatic writings as well as through numerous translations. It is only natural that the present generation seeks to assimilate and to analyze those happenings which directed into different paths the destiny of the people and thereby of every individual, and redeemed it from the bonds of centuries.

In addition, however, the questions of the day as well as the great complex of social, economic, and spiritual problems and of the change conditioned by them, with which one has to come to

538 terms, become predominant. But not only the subject matter of the new generation of writers is basically changed; their language, too, is different: it gains in fullness, richness, and modes of expression, and it receives a thoroughly individual stamp, though it has a more or less regional coloring in very many writers. Ignas Šeinius, who is important for the development of the new prose and prose style, wrote in a light and formally beautiful language, filled with lyricism, his works Vasaros vaišēs (Gifts of the Summer), Bangos siaučia (Roaring Waves), and Kuprelis (The Hunchback), the lyrically moving story of a hunchback who experiences bitter disappointment in his love through his bodily handicap, and who belongs to the dreamers who do not find their way in life. The author puts words like these in his mouth:

> "Were not the Lithuanians strong, when their way to God was still shorter, and when they felt God more strongly and more often and thought less? The symbols of their faith, the language of their faith, bound them to God with every step, at every time, and on every day. The Lithuanian felt God through the sun, the moon, the wind, and the storm--was that a bad way?"

/278/ Problems of the present are treated by Petras Cvirka in his Frank Kruk, a sharp satire against the materialism of the American Lithuanians which stirred up a good deal of dust. In Žemē maitintoja (Earth the Nourisher) the life of the new settlers comes alive, and Meisteris ir sūnus leads us into the world of tailors, carpenters, and smiths. Juozas Gruškas takes the material for his novel Karjeristai (Success Hunter) from the life of officials, and Neveravičius treats in his book Dienos ir naktys the position of the unwed mother in the framework of society. A second novel, Flickering Flames, appeared in 1936. The life of the gymnasium teacher is presented in

*538 the novel Pirmieji metai (The First Year). In his novel in two volumes Ješkau gyvenimo draugo (I Seek a Companion through Life) Liudas Dovydēnas introduces us to the life of elementary school teachers. Another of his works from peasant life, Broliai Domeikos (The Brothers Domeika) earned for him the state prize in 1936. (13) Along with those already mentioned, Inčiūra and Zobarskas are making a name for themselves among the writers of novels. A tender and subtle love story, Valentina, was published by Vaičiulaitis.

536 In comparison to the abundance of prose publications, especially of the last decades, dramatic writing has been secondary, although its traditions, too, reach back as far as the period of the prohibition on printing. Along with Fromas Gužutis (1822-1900), whose drama in five acts Ponai ir Mužikai (Lords and Peasants) is based on the relations between the nobility and the people, Petliukas and Landsbergis-Žemkalnis, with his drama Blinda, became known after 1900. The greatest success was achieved by Keturakis (pseudonym for J. Vilkutaitis) with his peasant comedy, published in 1895, Amerika Pirtyje (America in the Pirtis), which at that time went across all the amateur stages of Lithuania and has still proved to be a drawing card even today. In addition, Šiaulēniškis may be named; his drama Sparnai (Wings) is under the influence of modern symbolism.

/279/ The development of Lithuanian dramatic

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[658] 13. The Lithuanian state, since 1935, has regularly given a prize of money for the most valuable literary work of the year: the importance of this practice should not be underestimated, since in a small nation, even under the most favorable circumstances, literary works have editions of only a few thousand copies.

536 writing could become stronger only after the repeal of the prohibition on printing. The dramatic works of Maironis and Vydūnas have already been mentioned in another place. In this context belongs also the dramatic work of Sofija Čiurlionienē-Kymantaitē. Her drama Aušros sūnus (Son of Aušra) was produced with success, and her fairy play, published in 1932, of the twelve brothers who were transformed into crows, and in which various Lithuanian fairy tale motifs are interwoven, found great approval. Finally, from an earlier period stems a number of smaller comedies which appeared in 1920 under the title Komedijos (Comedies). Čiurlionienē also made a name for herself as a prose writer. Written with refined sentiment is her novel Šventmarē, published in 1937, which presents before our eyes in plastic images the conditions in a Catholic rectory toward the end of the century. In the center of the plot stands the clergyman himself, the "Šventmarē," the "holy" bigoted Marie, and above all the girl Barbutē as typical of the young female generation of the period; she is especially well characterized, with her ardent wish to learn and educate herself.

Among the most successful dramatists of the present belongs Petras Vaičiūnas, born in 1890, whose dramas have been produced by the Kaunas state theater with great popular success. Tuščios pastangos (Vain Exertions), 1926, for example is based on the problem of the educated Lithuanian who comes from the country and who is inclined in the city to forget rapidly everything that connects him with the village. In Patriotai the author exposes the false patriotism which becomes a pretence for impure purposes. In the same way Nuodemingas angela (The Sinful Angel), Sulaužyta priesaika (The Broken Oath), and other dramas of the same author were performed with great acclaim. It may be added that 538] Vaičiūnas also possesses a reputation as a lyricist and has become very popular through several of his poems.

300 poems.

536 /280/ A great artistic success has been achieved in the last years by Balys Sruoga, who has already been discussed as a lyricist, with his verse dramas Milžino paunksnej (In the Shadow of the Giant) and Baisioji naktis (The Terrible Night). The first is built around the person of the "giant," Grand Duke Vytautas, who does not make an appearance himself but determines the course of the plot through his personality; (14) the second deals with the revolution of 1905, in which it is not the revolution but the lack of understanding in wide circles of its deeper meaning and the absence of a high goal which seems terrible to the author--the night which still enveloped the people at that time. Among the dramas of the last years, the historico-biographical portrait Vincas Kudirka by Inčiura should be named. J. Petrulis achieved the greatest success with his often produced drama Prieš srcvę (Against the Stream), in which the period of serf-dom comes alive. Finally, the great poems of Krevē, Šarūnas, Skirgaila, and Likimo keliais (On the Paths of Fate), which will be discussed in the next section, also have dramatic form. Enough of names! *
538 In the present context we can only give a brief survey of the Lithuanian literature of the present. Thus in conclusion only two more writers will be mentioned, who seem mature and finished enough in their art to permit a judgment, and who on the other hand can be considered as typical representatives of the Lithuanian art of the present both in their subject matter and also in their treatment of the material--Mykolaitis-Putinas and Krēvē-Mickevičius--the former born in 1894, the latter twelve years

[113] 14. The first act is printed in Horst Engert, Aus litauischer Dichtung(Kaunas, 1935), pp. 77-104 (Deutsche Nachdichtungen).

*[see pp. 302-303, cat. 116 --Analyst]

older.

15. /No reference given in the text; seems to belong somewhere between fn. 14 and this point./ Ibid., pp. 65 and 67.

C. V. Mykolaitis-Putinas and Krēvē-Mickevičius

If the idea of the nation which should awaken to new life stood in the center of the poems of Maironis, Putinas embodies among the living poets the purely subjective trend. /281/ Putinas is a born lyricist; he sees all things through the prism of purely personal experience. Thus the external world of phenomena becomes for him in the last analysis only a means of giving expression to feelings and ideas. Although he, too, had originally been a priest, only a few of his poems have a religious content, and even these often change into tender and deeply felt poems on nature. Each of these poetic creations is a work of art complete in itself, finished in form, musical in expression, and sustained by a strong inner rhythm. In his earlier poems the formative, pictorial element is more subordinate to the purely emotional one, which he predominant. His most beautiful poems are written from original, elementary experience; they are no reflections. They all bear the character of uniqueness, and more than anything else the poet avoids repetitions or variations of the same theme.

In the development of the artist a clear sequence of stages can be noted, which leads from the poems of his youth first to a period of symbolism. Fairly long stays in Switzerland and in Munich were probably decisive here. Characteristic of the poems of this period are elementary, and sometimes stormy, outbreaks of mental shock and deep pessimism. In later years the poet returned to a classic simplicity of form and expression. The inner images seem now more clearly seen and more distinctly fashioned. A gentle melancholy pervades the works of the last period. Two of

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538 Two of his most beautiful poems[4] are reproduced below in the German translations of Horst Engert.

### The Man of Sorrows

My dear God, what bright nights!
And what a height of broad skies!
And stars, stars! large ones and also small ones,
They shine, very movingly, my dear God.

/282/ I shall go, I said to myself, on a level road;
On a level road, there the will is free,
On a level road in the bright nights,
Only there can one, young, think high thoughts.

But why do you sit, my watchful dear God,
By the level road, sorrowfully crouching?
By the level road, where those laden with care
Wander alone through the day with sighs?

My dear God, have our sorrows
Prayed you down from heaven to this road,
Perhaps too, these bright autumn nights
Have dreamed you up out of our earth?

So receive me then, watchfully, dear Lord of Sorrows,
To meditate tonight on the level road. --
Oh, that in the heights of heaven the bright stars
Shine so very movingly, my dear God.

### Romance

As the first gift of the smiling sun of spring
You flew to my breast with blossoming feeling,

[4] [Putinas'-- Analyst]

538 And even now, when I quietly think of your name,
The sun always laughs at me and the blossoms are fragrant.

I do not know if you were with me long:
Between two dawns the night did not get dark.
And even now, with the glow of these dawns
The sky shines here in the evening, my being is enkindled.

I do not know if you will return someday,
Nor how far a first joy sends forth its light;--
But the smiling and happiness of the spring sun entreats you
To hide from me, that you cannot do.

/283/ Wherever I go, light and blossoms are round about,
All my thoughts are again brought into confusion,
As once, when you joyfully flew to my breast,--
Even if today I have only night, only night.

536 From the lyrics of his youth Putinas went on to drama and prose. In the mystery play Nuvainikuotoji vaidilutė (The Sinful Priestess) he seeks to grasp the calling and destiny of his people; in his Valdovas he gives a drama of the warlike early history: by murdering the legitimate ruler, Krūšna, an ambitious, cruel despot, has come into power. He has the son of the murdered man educated together with his own son, Gytis. But political enemies kidnap the children, who grow up far from him and finally rise up against the despot. They are taken prisoners, and at the

7[1894 -- Analyst]

536 meeting with Krūšna Gytis provokes him so greatly that the ruler draws his sword and fatally wounds him. Only then does Gytis confess to his father who he is, and the father recognizes his son:

It is he . . .it is he . . .only now comes
recognition,
Oh his eyes!--what eyes--oh!
And how he looks-- --oh--yo accursed
father!
He calls his father--yes, he calls to me.

Paternal feeling gains the upper hand in Krūšna. His kingdom and his power no longer mean anything to him. All earthly values pale before the elementary experience of this hour.

538 If Putinas had already drawn to himself the attention of wide circles through his lyrics and his dramas, with his novel in three volumes Altorių šešėlyj (In the Shadow of the Altars), published in 1933, he achieved the greatest popular success that up to that time had ever been accorded a novel in Lithuania. A lively language, which, in contrast to that of most of the other authors, was not colored by dialect and was understandable to all, as well as the novelty and boldness of the theme contributed to its success.

/284/ In the center of the plot stands the young Vasaris, destined by his parents to the priesthood, a shy and uncommunicative youth. A stranger to life and the world, born to be an artist, he experiences the contradiction between the bright and shining world for which he longs and the narrowness of the external and internal life in the seminary of the prewar period. Still fully uncertain as to his real calling, driven by consideration for his parents, whose happiness he would otherwise destroy, fired by ideals to become a brilliant leader of his people like Maironis, he takes the vows. In the second part of the book x

538 we see him as a young vicar in the company of other clergymen, who are all drawn with sharp strokes. There is the priest Platūnas, who lives only for his husbandry; Stripaitis, who is completely immersed in the Lithuanian cooperative movement; the idealist Ramutis; and many others. But Vasaris begins to feel ever more strongly that he lacks the calling for his profession. He fashions his life more freely, his thinking changes above all through his love for the wife of Baron Rainakis, the patron lord of his church. Then the World War overtakes him. He sets out for St. Petersburg to study at the Clerical Academy there. Once more he turns around in his wagon toward the village. He hears a thundering crash and sees the tower of his church fall, blown up by the Russians at the approach of the German troops.

It was like a blow that Vasaris felt in his breast. The tower to which the duties of the priesthood, care, and sorrow had bound him was in ruins. It seemed to him that not only the tower had fallen apart, but that with it fell apart many beautiful dreams and ideals of his youth, which had once led him to this place.

In the last part of the novel Vasaris returns to his homeland in the year 1924. Completely alienated from his profession, he lives for his artistic work.

/285/ According to the author's own confession, two problems made him write this novel--
the relation of the priesthood to artistic work
and the problem of the ex-priest who turns to a
538 secular activity. It should be remembered in
793 this connection that according to Russian law
565 no Lithuanian could occupy an official position
[463] in his home province, which left only the few
free professions, and the priesthood for advancement from the peasant class. Thus the majority of the creative intelligentsia of the country was found among the priests to the time of

538 793 [565] the first World War. As a consequence, even after the founding of the state the Lithuanian clergy played a decisive role in many high state offices. From this results the extraordinary significance of this class at that time and also the breadth of the artistic theme, measured by Lithuanian standards, which Putinas treats in his novel. Concerning the Lithuanian clergyman the author writes in his preface:

> "The Lithuanian clergyman was both farmer and member of a cooperative, financier, politician, diplomat, minister, physican, and--God knows what else. He agitated at public meetings--even today he takes part in the internal deliberations of the political parties. The Lithuanian clergyman was a literary man as well--sometimes a story teller, but more frequently a poet . . .The Lithuanian clergyman, very often forced into the seminary, sometimes also enrolled out of a misunderstanding, attracted by foreign ideals, gathered within himself the most varied gifts and talents . . . And again and again one or another gifted Lithuanian priest feels the necessity to give up the priesthood . . . Here lies a whole series of sociological, religious, and psychological problems."

538 It is only understandable that the appearance of such a realistic and at the same time artistically fashioned work would lead to lively controversies (16) which /286/ concerned less the

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16. Cf. for example Grinius, "Putino Altoriu šešėlyj" (Putinas, In the Shadow of the Altars), Židinys, 1933, Vol. XVII, pp. 46-53 (on the first two volumes). Further: K. Korsakas, Kritika (Criticism), the chapter "Kunigas Liudas Vasaris literatūr-

113 oje ir visuomenēj" (The Clergyman Liudas Vasaris in Literature and in Public), pp. 69-159.

538 artistic structure than the content, particularly the question to what extent the characters presented here and seen sometimes in the light of sharp criticism can be generalized--the latter, the author expressly denies when he writes:

> "He (the author) knew also that the most important figures of his novel are not typical, that they are personalities who differ from the various groups, and perhaps even exceptions."

Artistically the work may be said to represent the first real psychological novel in Lithuanian literature. It is written in a lively fashion with an excellent characterization of the personalities represented, who come to life especially in the dialogues. The plot serves essentially to clarify the inner development of the hero. Along with beautiful lyric episodes--the festival of the youth on the Aukštakalnis--psychological processes undergo an artistic analysis, characteristic of which is, for example, the last temptation of Liudas Vasaris before he takes the vows: years ago as a young seminary student Vasaris saw the picture of a naked slave girl in an illustrated magazine and discussed this picture with the cynic Variokas, who later left the seminary; he is fatigued and distracted by recollections.

On this day, after the common evening prayer, while the rest of the clerics went away, the six remained behind for the usual brief conference with their spiritual father. Their spiritual father spoke about the meaning of their confessions on the following day. But Vasaris

538 heard only a few of the first sentences. Then for some reason his thoughts slid back, and Varioka suddenly stood before his eyes as if he were alive and said, laughing cynically:

. --Comedy, everything is comedy . . .

The conversation that the two had once had in the garden of the seminary during the first course began to come to life in Vasari's memory. Variokas' /287/ reproaches against the clergymen and his own confessions were not suitable to these recollections, and Vasaris directed his thoughts again to the words of the conference. A slight dizziness overcame him, but he heard clearly how the spiritual father said:

--The lusts of the flesh, concupiscentia carnis, are the greatest and most dangerous enemy of the spiritual life.

And at the same moment there appeared in the imagination of Vasaris, as if lighted by a magic flame, the naked slave girl from the magazine Klosai, and his own voice said:

--Too slim. The thigh is thicker than the body.

--Fool! --answered the voice of Variokas. --Those are the wonderful racy forms of a woman of the East.

Vasaris shook his head to defend himself against the unchaste picture, and he heard again the words of the spiritual father:

--Oh, dear brothers, may God protect you from such misfortune! The position of a young clergyman in his community then becomes . . .

But the slave girl did not disappear from

Vasaris' imagination! He saw that her slender body was bent so that three soft folds were formed above her hip. He directed his eyes and all his thoughts toward the spiritual father, but the body of the slave girl did not disappear. And the more he strove to get rid of her, the clearer she became; ever stronger, like the onset of a disease, like a terror, she overwhelmed his thoughts.

--Almighty God!--thought the cleric--what is going on in me. Such a thing never happened to me before.

At the end of the conference he immediately left the chapel, since he thought that a change of place would drive away the unchaste picture. He knew from the manuals of spiritual life that one must not fight with a temptation at the beginning, but should flee it. So he tried to flee. He tried /288/ to think about the simplest things, but the temptation chased after him and stood again before his eyes. He stopped for a moment in front of the window to look at the weather, but in the glass of the window appeared again the slave girl. No longer bound with chains, but free, she stood before him with her whole body and laughed shamelessly.

That was terrible. Vasaris felt within himself the desire, which came constantly nearer from afar, to look at the picture, to see his fill of this young body . . . But that would already be assent, sin, and perhaps even heavy sin . . . So he ran further. He returned to his room and began to read in the Holy Scripture. But the letters grew hazy before his eyes; it was as if a spring wound up within him prevented him from sitting down. He went into the corridor, and striding back and forth he tried to think of something friendly that would divert him from these dangerous images. He began to dream of home, how his parents and everyone at home would be glad when he returned as a subdeacon.

--And Luzie?

What then; nothing much. She had certainly given him freedom and even urged him to become a clergyman.

--Why didn't I kiss her then? Just once in my whole life. At that time I was certainly not a subdeacon . . .

He clearly felt that he was thinking with satisfaction and regret of something that did not belong to him and that was sinful. Earlier, and not only once, he had already contemplated that this kiss, if the two of them had kissed each other at that time, would have been a sin. And when it now became clear to him that his reveries about Luzie also came from temptation, Vasaris tried to flee from her too. But to flee from Luzie was even more difficult. In his imagination there awoke not only she herself, but also all his expectations, /Unnumbered page with illustration --Museum of Vytautas the Great in Kaunas/ /289/ all the impulses of his heart, which were gentle and yet powerful, since they came from nature itself. This had already happened before, but on that evening, along with these pure pulsations of a youthful heart, something low, something passionate and sensual that had not been there earlier began to confuse him.

Now his imagination began to paint Luzie for him in lascivious, impure colors. He remembered how once, when they sat on the Aušra Mountain, he had glimpsed her leg somewhat above the knee. At that time he had been very much ashamed and had not cast another glance at it. Now, however, what he had seen then, suddenly came to life, confused his thoughts, and shook him with indescribable passion. It also came into his memory how Luzie's breasts stood out under her light little summer dress,--and that her lips were symmetrical, red, and swelling. The missed kiss burned him now like embers left behind in the ashes and rekindled.

He strode through the corridor, went down to the hall and back upstairs, but the insane pictures raged incessantly in his tortured brain as in a demoniacal movie. And again it was the slave girl, and again Luzie. And both at the same time, and one changed into the other.

None strokes of the bell sounded through the empty corridors--and Vasaris found himself suddenly with the crowding wave of clerics again in the church to attend the sanctissimum for the last time. That lasted five, perhaps ten minutes; the chapel was cleared quickly, but he was afraid to go to bed. His imagination and his thoughts were so excited that he knew for certain that he would not be able to go to sleep. He stayed and knelt alone in the empty chapel,which was illuminated only by a red oil lamp. In the last /290/ year he had spent many hours here, but those had been calm contemplations and later actually hours of useless sitting.

Now, however, he trembled and burned all over, seized by an incomprehensible passion. Here in this holy place across from the tabernaculum Sanctissimi he felt in the glow of the red lamp some sort of terrible being that lay in wait for his destruction. And to his greatest horror he became aware that he, who had never vividly felt God, was suddenly beginning to feel the devil. Terrified by his morbid imagination he was afraid to move and look around. The two saints placed in the niches in the wall, otherwise so still, terrified him today with their dumbness, their cassocks, their surplices, their aureoles, and their own unreality.

But the images threw him from one horror into another. What he had once unconsciously seen

538 of unchastity now grew into loathsome apparitions of immorality. He thought of some other advice in the manuals of spiritual life; that he who wanted to protect himself against temptation and did not succeed in getting away from it, must imagine the opposite things, preferably the images of the sufferings of Christ. He covered his face with his hands and tried to imagine the whole Way of the Cross, as stated in the second part of the rosary. --Deep concentration and great will power were necessary for this. In the end the Saviour is nailed to the cross which raised up on the hill. But--oh blasphemy of God! In place of the suffering Christ there jeered down shamelessly from the cross the slender slave girl.

Vasaris felt that he was sinking in a terrible black abyss and that a cold breath stroked the back of his head. He did not see it, but he felt it clearly, /291/ that the floor creaked and an invisible being shuffled toward him through the last row of benches. He wanted to pray, but an elemental fear sealed not only his lips, but also his heart and will. But the apparition bent toward his ear, and he saw that it was Variokas, no, not Variokas, but someone indescribably loathsome, who whispered:

---Comedy, comedy, comedy . . .

And from the other side someone else bent down and whispered even more horrigly:

--You, you are like us: you look at the girls, and you want to kiss, want to, want to . . .

And the first mocked again with his loathsome smile:

--Just become a priest, a good one, a good one, a good one . . .

Vasaris felt so horrible under their burning gazes and the hellish whispering that he pulled all his strength together and heavily and painfully groaned aloud. At this moment someone laid a hand on his shoulder. He sprang up

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538 from the bench and saw in the glow of the red lamp a tall, black figure before him.

--Why don't you go to bed?--said the spiritual father to him. --You should not exert yourself like this. You are shaking and moaning like a sick man. Is something wrong?

Laboriously Vasaris began to think over what had occurred he was dizzy, but he felt light, since everything had passed.

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That night Vasaris slept the sleep of the dead. On the next morning he still had a slight feeling of dizziness, and during the first meditation he slept with open eyes . . .(17)

17. Vol. I, pp. 351-358.

/292/ A second novel of his author, Crisis, leads directly into the events of the present, the great revolution that is going on in all spheres of life. (18)

18. At the time this book was completed the work was not yet available in book form.

Basically different from Putinas, but in his production just as, or perhaps even more, characteristic of what we can describe as typically Lithuanian, appears the somewhat older Vincas Krēvē-Mickevičius, born in 1882, a university professor like Putinas, for many years dean of the humanistic faculty, and a folklorist whose collections of fairy tales, sagas, and songs have also made a name for him in the scientific world. (19)

113 19. We may mention, for example, Dainavos krašto liaudies dainos (The Folk Songs of

113 the Province Dainava) (1924). --Sparnuočiai liaudies padavimuose (Winged Creatures in Folk Tradition) (1933). --Aitvaras liaudies padavimuose (The Aitvaras in Folk Tradition) (1933). --Dzūkų poringes (Folk Tales of the Dzūkijans), and others.

538 Vincas Krēvē is the creator of a neo-romanticism that is nourished from the living depths of the folk saga. At the same time he is also a realist, even a naturalist in his psychological tales, which deal with the Lithuanian village of the most recent past.

Krēvē has listened deeply to the world of old sagas and heroic stories which he found still alive today in his home province of Dzūkija. They became for him the foundation of his dramatic poems Šarūnas, Skirgaila, and others. Probably the most important is the poem of Prince Šarūnas (1911), which introduces the reader to the time before the battles of the religious orders. But this Lithuania has nothing realistic about it, historical coloring is unimportant to the author, and his poem takes place "in very ancient times"; it is a mysterious land, as it is reflected in the old sagas, and its people are doers and dreamers at the same time, mystically related to the events and the secret of nature. Mystical and mysterious, a primitive man, passionate, revengeful, an enemy of Christianity, nourished completely from the elemental qualities of his nature, is Šarūnas, the prince, who wants to overcome the local princes of his country, unite the land of Dzūkija, and establish himself as the sole ruler. Bold and ambitious in his plans, also a friend of poetry, Šarūnas is, on the other side, the man who longs for love and happiness. To these two /293/ sides of his character corresponds the double tragedy of his fate: he is unable to realize his 538 ambitious plans and must leave them to his heir, Mindaugas; and he meets disaster in his personal fate as well, when, blinded by jealousy, he slays his noble wife Voverē. To be sure, this family tragedy only forms a border around the basic idea of the poem--the uniting of the land of Dzūkija.

"Only one sun stands in the sky, only one ruler shall be in Dainava, or the earth will not retain me alive."

Beside Šarūnas the drawing of the other charcters in the poem pales; he himself is represented above life-size, the way the old folk sagas portray him. (20) The poem is written in lyric language.

A second historical poem of Krēvē--Skirgaila (1925)--forms as to period and content of 538 536 ideas a sequel to the first. The drama in four acts is based on the relations of this Grand Duke to Poland and the German orders. In the center of the plot stands the daughter of the prince of Lyda, Ona Duonutē, who is loved by the German knight Keller and loves him in turn. In the second act there is a clash between Skirgaila and the knight. Skirgaila forces the princess to become his wife, and through this marriage unites her land with his. The climax of the drama is formed by the third act, in which the grand duke fights a difficult inner battle. He sees the importance of the old pagan gods and the power of the Christian God, he feels himself politically threatened by Poland as well as the orders, and he sees his marriage endangered by the love of his wife for the German knight. Finally the feeling of revenge gains the victory. In the last act

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20. Cf. here Krēvē's scholarly investigations on Šarūnas, printed in Mūsų tautosaka (Our Folk Poetry), Vol. I, pp. 90-123. [113]

538 536 the conflict is resolved: the grand duke accomplishes his cruel revenge by having Keller buried alive. In the intensity of its tragedy this work achieves the power of high drama.

/294/ No less characteristic than this drama is the poem Dainavos šalies senų žmonių padavimai (Sagas of the Ancients from the Land of Dainava), written in an elevated lyric language, the introduction of which I have given in German translation in my book Hinter den Seen, hinter den Wäldern. Bilder litauischen Volkstums. Here the full romantic splendor of Krēvē's language is unfolded, and the mysterious mood of the ancient pagan land is transferred directly to the reader. This poem tells of the dreaming girls at copper gates awaiting the youths who ride up on dark brown horses with silver hoofs and golden bridles, of death in battle and mourning for the beloved. The whole mood of the idealizing dainos comes alive here.

But the Lithuanian village has still another side, and that Krēvē knew how to capture this also proves the breadth of his artistic conception. His drama Žentas (The Son-in-Law) portrays for us the results of a marriage concluded without love, only for considerations of property, and the discord in a peasant family in plastic and realistic
538 images; in the peasant tales that are collected in Volumes II and III of his works under the title Šiaudinēj pastogēj (Under the Straw Roof) he gives us analyses and pictures of conditions of the peasant life of the most recent prewar period. In their realism they actually recall at times Žemaitē, for example when the author describes a ruined village hut in "Vargingame gyvenime" (Life in Misery).

P. Lapienē very perceptively notes in one place in her analysis of the writings of Krēvē (21) that every people seen from the outside

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21. In Varpas, 1932, No. 3, pp. 214-15.

makes on the observer the impression of a monolith, but that with closer observation very great differences appear. Likewise where civilization, is more firmly established, psychological differences are adjusted to a greater extent under its influence than in those countries where the general x538 /295/ level of culture is lower. It may be left undecided whether the fact that there are in the country more independent and individual minds, more "originals" than in the city, is solely dependent on the level of culture, and whether the greater independence from other people of the peasant who works hiw own land does not perhaps also lead to a greater inner freedom with regard to people and things and thus to the development of individual characters. Such an individual character is portrayed by Krēvē, for example, in his tale "Skerdžius" (The Shepherd). The ancient Lapinas, a great joker and liar, animist, pantheist, and mystic, who believes in laumas, the evil fairies, and to whom the forest seems filled with magic, imagines that he will live as long as the linden tree of the peasant Grainis. And when the latter one day fells the linden, Lapinas also dies--perhaps from a cold--an explanation which the writer leaves open for the doubting reader. Another tale, "Bobulēs vargai" (The Labors of the Old People), is more a portrayal of conditions, a presentation in which the many household tasks of a summer day which thousands of such old women have to accomplish are pictured quite realistically and typically. In the short tale "Silkēs" (The Herrings) we read a fine psychological presentation of a naive country girl. Here the maid Marcelē has stolen a few herrings from an old, half-blind Jew who sold herrings to the farmer's wife and is then scolded by her and frightened by the prospect of confession. The few words are buried so deep in her subconscious that she has a very unusual dream during the night.

538 She is in heaven.

"There it was as beautiful as in the church at Pivašiūnai. Everywhere candles and lights were burning. The Lord himself, gray, with a long beard, sat high upon the altar, and round about him all the angels; some, quite small, as in the picture of the Holy Virgin at Merkinē, flew high and low around God, and others, quite large in long dresses, with large wings at their shoulders, knelt at the altar and /296/ had their delicate hands folded like young priests or clerics and praised God."

Heaven is full of souls, "like the church at Merkinē at the festival of St. Rochus." Finally Marcelē sees also her dead mother. She wants to push through to her, but an angel blocks her way. He scolds her, that she would soil the white robes of the souls in her everyday dress, and addresses her rudely:

"Why did you bring the herrings into the house of God? -- So that they will make a stench?"

Marcelē looks down at herself and sees that she is in fact holding in her hand the three herrings, which, however, she had already eaten, and that the brine runs down on her dress.

"Then the angel took her by the hand and led her through all of heaven straight to the throne of God. Marcelē was so ashamed that she would have liked best to creep into a hole" . . .

"And the souls accompanied her. The most difficult thing for Marcelē was that the angel led her past the place where her mother sat. Although Marcelē did not raise her eyes, she felt how her mother looked at her painfully. She felt it and became red as a berry of the mountain-ash.

Before God she is unable to justify herself. She is thrown out of heaven, the door is locked behind her, and she stands outside, surrounded by horned devils. In a terrible fright, she wakes up bathed in sweat.

And now her naivete is shown for the second time. She sneaks stealthily into the front room in the dark night, takes three eggs of the farmer's wife out of the closet, and hides them in the sand,

> "and impatiently she waits for Sunday, when she will bring the eggs to Kušlius and thereby pay him for the stolen herrings! . . .Then she will no longer have to be afraid that she will be thrown out of heaven for stealing! . . ."

/297/ These brief examples may suffice. The psychological and also the descriptive element stands in the foreground of these tales; the actual plot is frequently subordinate. The poet sees his characters from a superior point of observation; he portrays their fates with light irony, but also with inner sympathy. With respect to their literary and folklorish value, the peasant stories of Kreve mark a high point in the development of Lithuanian literature up to now.

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We have thus concluded our survey of the development and growth of Lithuanian literature up to the most recent present. We have seen how this literature, which originated and grew at first under a foreign star, essentially obtained its independence and own character only in our century. Within the framework of the present book it required detailed consideration, for in it is reflected the inner spiritual development of the Lithuanian people, the driving forces of which we wanted to show, and the progress of which we wanted to determine.

7: Jungfer
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RB5 Lithuanians RB5

[For the theme of nationalism in Lithuanian literature, see category 116, pp. 221-341]

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5
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[ For a discussion of literature in Lithuania, see category 116, pp. 83-110, and 221-341.
Pp. 83-110 include the Raudos or Lamentations for the Dead; Fairy Tales and Sagas; Proverbs and Sayings; Folk Riddles; Study of the Lithuanian Folklore.
Pp. 221-341 cover Lithuania's Artistic Literature. Pp. 221-226: The Literature of the 16th and 17th centuries. Pp. 226-234: The Beginning of Poetry in the 18th century. Pp. 234-262: The Literature of the 19th century up to the Proclamation of the Prohibition of Printing; The University of Vilna and the Period of Romanticism; From the Closing of the University to the Ending of Serfdom. Pp. 262-298: The Period of the Prohibition of Printing (1865-1904) - The Epoch of the Ausra; Prose Writing by Women at the End of the Century; Maironis and the Idealism in the Lyrics of His Time. Pp. 298-341: A Cross Section of the Most Recent Developments in Lithuanian Literature - The Period of Transition; The New Lyricism; Prose and Drama; Mykolaitis Putinas and Kreve Mickevicius. ]

7: Jungfer
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RB5 Lithuanians RB5

[For a discussion of wooden crosses in Lithuania, see cat. 116, pp. 111, 124-133.]

7: Jungfer RB5 Lithuanians RB5
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[For the development of various architectural styles in Lithuania, see category 116, pp. 111-124 (architecture in the country), and 162b-194 (architecture in the cities).]